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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 September 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

## NEED TO COMBAT INTERNAL, EXTERNAL ENEMIES STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albania 29 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Petro Lalaj: "A Memorable Event in the History of the Party"]

[Text] The Extraordinary Party Congress, which was held 43 years ago, on 28-29 June 1942, has great historical importance. It condemned and destroyed the antiparty, disruptive and liquidation activities of the factionalists, Anastas Lula, Sadik Premtja and their collaborators, and it strengthened and steeled the Marxist-Leninist unity of the party ranks.

The chief credit for the achievements of this victory belongs to the founder and leader of our party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, whose struggle against internal enemies of the party was based totally on principle and was organized and led with incomparable skill and with an iron hand. He inspired and forged the monolithic unity of our party, which has been an indispensable condition of and a decisive factor in its existence and progress and in the strengthening and increase of its leading role. "Throughout his whole life," Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, "Comrade Enver Hoxha fought for the strengthening of the leading role of the party, for its ideological tempering and its organizational consolidation, for the unity of its ranks and the increase of militant spirit in its members."

The congress was called at a very critical juncture for our newly-formed party, which was placed between two fires: on the one hand, the fascists had intensified their bloody terror and their persecutions, imprisonments and internments and they were trying "to settle their scores" with the communists and their leaders; on the other hand, the factionalists, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtja, were intensifying their disruptive and sabotage activities within the party. "Bearing in mind the situation created by the fascist reaction and by the factionalists in the party," wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha in his work, "Kur lindi Partia" [When the Party Was Born], "we, in the Central Committee, decided to call the Extraordinary Party Congress, where we would also review the factionalist activities of Anastas Lula, Sadik Premtja and their followers, in order to strengthen the party and its unity, so that we could confront the great struggle for liberation from the fascist invaders as well."

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha chose the most appropriate moment to strike at and completely destroy the factionalist activities of the enemies

of the party. Any toleration of this activity would have had tragic consequences for the party and our people. "This situation," wrote Comrade Enver, "had to be given a strong and immediate blow, because if the poison had been permitted to penetrate further, it would have totally ruined the troops of our new party. This would have been tragic for the fate of our people. Weakening and further destruction of the party would certainly have led to the weakening and destruction of the struggle it was leading against the invaders and traitors."

It was also the most appropriate moment because, when the extraordinary congress was assembled, the spirit of the party triumphed over the factions and groups; the unity of the communists was strengthened and tempered: the overwhelming majority of them, including the majority of the communists from the "Youth" group, were united like a single fist around the Provisional Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The inimical, sabotage and factionalist work encountered the opposition of the communist masses, who fought with self-sacrifice to defend and strengthen the party.

It was the most appropriate moment because, when the congress was assembled, revolutionary life and practice fully attested to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist political line of the party and definitively overthrew the Trotskyite theses of the renegades, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtja. The line of revolutionary action and armed, uncompromising struggle against the fascist invaders and the traitors of the country did not bring about the arrest and destruction of the "cadres" and the party, as the factionalist leaders prophesied, but brought about the unceasing increase of the National Liberation Movement and the rapid increase in the ranks of the party and of its authority and leading role.

Under the conditions obtained when the congress was assembled, even the majority of the factionalists who had been duped by the intrigues and cunning of the traitors, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtja, understood that they had entered a blind alley and that it was not the party and its line that had undergone a defeat, as the factionalist leaders had foreseen and claimed, but they themselves, along with their factionalist activities.

There are the reasons why the Extraordinary Congress, the work of which was directed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, although it developed under grave conditions of illegality and fascist terror, was crowned with complete success. After analyzing their liquidation and factionalist activities, the congress decided to expel Anastas Lula, Sadik Premtja and some of their closest collaborators indefinitely, and it instructed that the most active factionalists in the districts should also be expelled, while the others should be closely watched, should prove themselves and, when they merited it, should be readmitted to the party. The majority of the factionalists practiced self-criticism, corrected themselves and continued on the path of the party. When Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtja, even after their expulsion, did not renounce their treacherous ways, the party condemned them and fought against them as enemies.

The party learned great and vital lessons from this experience. "The proceedings of the extraordinary congress demonstrated how the party encountered

situations, events and its own struggles. This conference proved that the party would not tolerate and would mercilessly combat every factionalist liquidation element and activity in its bosom, just as it would mercilessly combat the enemies of the people." The party has respected and applied this principle resolutely and unwaveringly during its whole life. It has never permitted factionalist groups and currents or two or more lines to exist in its bosom, as occurs in the revisionist parties. It has had and continues to have a single Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and it has resolutely combatted and mercilessly destroyed all foreign manifestations which disagreed with its line, as well as all enemy and espionage elements and groups which tried to alienate the party from its revolutionary line and to disunite and ruin it. Among these were Anastas Lula and Sadik Premtja, Koci Xoxe and followers, and the renegade and multiple agent, Mehmet Shehu, and his collaborators. From every battle with its enemies, the party has emerged stronger, more united, renewed, vivified, vigilant and prepared to confront and smash the head of every enemy and inimical group which would dare to raise its hand against it.

In faithfully and unceasingly continuing to pursue this line, the line of struggling to maintain the revolutionary purity of its ranks, to strengthen and steel uninterruptedly its political, ideological and organizational unity, and to increase its combative ability, our party, led with foresight by a great Marxist-Leninist, as was our leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was fully prepared to confront every situation and to lead the revolution and socialism forward. For that reason, it was not fortuitous that a result of this line was that modern revisionism did not overcome us. Our party opposed with unparalleled resolution and bravery Titoist and Soviet revisionism, as well as every other type of modern revisionism, and stripped away their mask to reveal their true bourgeois and reactionary core. The experience of our party in the struggle to unmask and destroy modern revisionism, generalized in the theoretical works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, constitutes a distinguished contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and an inexhaustible source of study and inspiration for revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world.

Our party has never accomplished the struggle against internal and external enemies, and against opportunism and revisionism, alone, but together with the broad masses of the people. In this common struggle against enemies, both the unity of the party itself and the unity of the people with the party have been forged and made invincible: this has been and remains the foundation of all our victories.

12249

CSO: 2100/45



BULGARIA

BULGARIZATION OF TURKS, RELATIONS WITH TURKEY ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Krauze: "The 'Spontaneous' Metamorphosis of Turks in Bulgaria"]

[Text] There is no longer a Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Or rather there never was one. At the conclusion of a so-called "Bulgarian name restoration" operation, about one million people once again became what, despite the appearances, they had never ceased to be: Bulgarians like the rest, who "spontaneously" abandoned Turkish-sounding names given to them by the quirks of history.

The preceding is obviously the Bulgarian version of an operation which, seen from the Turkish viewpoint, looks like a monstrous conjuring trick and actually hides a painful history of sufferings and humiliations. In any case, the affair was carried out quickly. A few weeks, or a few months at the most. Nevertheless, its origins go back a long way.

Five Centuries of Domination

After 5 centuries of Turkish domination, Bulgarian independence came in 1878, not without some hostile outbursts in the following decades; Turks who stayed in Bulgaria found themselves in the position of a minority which, by the nature of the case, ran the risk of having to "pay" for the past. It was explained in Ankara, however, that recognition was given to the rights of this minority; before the last war there were 1,000 Turkish schools in Bulgaria. After the war, the new regime established a single type of school but Turkish was taught, and this was not abolished until 1972.

In the meantime, Ankara and Sofia worked out several emigration agreements--after a first wave of more or less compulsory emigration, according to the Turkish side. Several hundred thousand Turks left Bulgaria. But many remained--especially since their population growth rate is higher than that of the Bulgarians--between 0.8 and 1 million, according to common estimates, i.e.,

a tenth of the population. Last November, an official of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to confirm this figure to us. That is not surprising: for several years now, the Sofia authorities have refused to provide any indication that might sanction the existence of a minority recognized as such, and the "sensitivity" of the Bulgarian officials on this matter is well known.

But the official was willing all the same to discuss the question, and affirmed that Bulgarians of Turkish origin enjoyed all the rights granted to citizens as a whole, and that, if there were no "Turks" in the political executive, there were some in the party's central committee; that, even if there were no Turkish schools, newspapers published in Turkish could be found, or more exactly bilingual newspapers.

At the same time, however, preparations were being made for the vast operation whose first indications would appear in January in Western newspapers and the Turkish press. Reports of violence were received, but were hard to confirm since those who attempted to go to the area to verify the reports were intercepted by Bulgarian police. Turkish villages, where the campaign to "Bulgarize" names met with strong resistance, were surrounded by the army. Bit by bit, the evidence became more specific, and there were reports of dozens of deaths, girls being raped by soldiers, and public humiliations.

#### "Bourgeois Propaganda"

The Ankara authorities, who had remained silent for quite a while, began to be disturbed. On the Bulgarian side, the "bourgeois propaganda" stories were indignantly rejected, and newspaper offices received an abundance of letters from Bulgarian "imams" who overflowed with praise for the exemplary manner in which the authorities had conducted themselves towards the Muslims. But there was no more talk of "Turks," and bit by bit since March the (new) official version appeared, following certain statements made by party officials and reproduced in the provincial newspapers. The operation did indeed take place, but it was perfectly "voluntary and spontaneous," and, furthermore, it was over. Those who "took back" their Slavic names are the descendants of Bulgarians forcibly converted to Islam under the Ottoman Empire.\* In a word, the matter was settled, and there could be no question of envisaging some future emigration to Turkey. As a local party leader declared in May, "the restoration of Bulgarian names deprives Turkish bourgeois propaganda of its social foundation."

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\*This theory, until then only put forward concerning the "Pomaks," is now being extended to all Muslims in Bulgaria.

Other statements, reproduced in the Bulgarian press, made it readily apparent that the "spontaneous" operation had left bruises. Thus one official called for the adoption of a realistic view and the recognition of the fact that a large part of "these people [obviously this refers to the Turkish ex-minority] consider that their sensibilities have been violated," and that "the shock is not over." But far more disturbing insinuations were also found. The president of the National Assembly, Stanko Todorov, a member of the political executive, declared at the beginning of March: "Those who allow themselves to be taken in by Ankara's propaganda and that of its local national agents, those who have had enough of living in their villages and want to emigrate should know that instructions have been given to the appropriate organizations to ensure their prompt emigration. Within 3 or 4 hours. Not to Turkey, however, but to other areas in Bulgaria, where they will be able to live more quietly and find their happiness." One may or may not appreciate the humor, but the threat is crystal clear.

Efforts to assimilate the Turkish minority in Bulgaria are not recent, and pressure has long been applied to encourage those with Turkish names to slavicize them. But why this sudden haste to get the job done, to "settle the problem" once for all, even though it meant undermining a bit further Bulgaria's reputation--already not the best?

Various hypotheses have been advanced: the desire to clean house before the census planned for the end of this year, or before the party congress, a few months later; or even a display of spite towards these Turks through whom the country was involved in "scandal": the implication of Bulgaria in the attack on the pope. None of these explanations, in fact, is completely convincing.

#### The Truckers' "Little War"

In any case, the authorities in Ankara seem to have been slow in realizing the scope of the affair, or at least in reacting publicly. Nevertheless, in January 1985, Turkey suggested to Sofia that an emigration agreement of broad scope be negotiated. It was a last resort solution because in the past the Turks, already affected by widespread unemployment, seemed none too enthusiastic at the thought of the arrival of large numbers of their Bulgarian cousins. But this time, Sofia would have nothing to do with the proposal, and relations between the two countries, previously considered satisfactory, deteriorated rapidly.

Bulgarian truckers driving in Turkey got into some serious difficulties, as did Turkish truck drivers in Bulgaria (where in the past they had already complained of being systematically charged with traffic violations by the Bulgarian police). Restrictions were applied to tourist trips to Bulgaria. The

Bulgarian consulate in Istanbul, where an individual considered a Bulgarian "agent" by the Turks sought refuge, was practically besieged as were Turkish consulates in various Bulgarian cities, not to mention the cancellation of sporting events.

Recently, however, the situation has eased somewhat--transit conditions for trucks have become more normal again, and the siege of the respective consulates has been lifted. The fact is that the two countries are mutually dependent however distasteful it may be. Each year, 36,000 Bulgarian trucks travel through Turkey to the Near East, and 30,000 Turkish trucks go through Bulgaria. The "little war," in this area, can only harm both parties.

### Fait Accompli

But the problem, supposedly settled on the Bulgarian side, is in no way diminished for the Turkish leaders. What can they do? There is obviously nothing to be gained from recalling with bitter irony that Jivkov himself, the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in an interview given 2 years ago to a British journalist, referred to the rights of the "Bulgarian Turks" whose existence he now denies.

More concretely, to reduce their dependence, the Turks will try to set up a ferryboat link with Rumania. An agreement to this effect was signed during a recent visit of the Turkish president, General Evren, to Bucharest. The Romanians were delighted with this windfall which would enable them to get some return on their new and very expensive Danube-Black Sea canal, greatly underexploited.

The Bulgarians, meanwhile, have not remained idle. Jivkov, for his part, has just made a trip to Athens where he discussed with Papandreou, the Turks' old enemy, the possible establishment of a train and ferry link directly from Bulgaria and Greece to Syria, bypassing Turkey.

In any case, these various initiatives will not make much difference to the fate of the "Bulgarized" Turkish minority. In order to forestall the success of this fait accompli policy, Ankara has decided to place the problem before the international authorities, particularly at the conference on human rights which will meet in Ottawa in spring. The Turks observed with satisfaction that some Western countries, particularly France, had supported their position, while the eastern countries seemed to be in no hurry to support their Bulgarian ally.

The socialist countries, as a matter of fact, are carrying on their own bilateral quarrels concerning various minorities and do not seem particularly anxious to risk themselves on this slippery ground. Not to mention the special case of Yugoslavia

which has good reason to bear a grudge against the Bulgarians for their refusal to recognize the existence of a Macedonian minority in the Pirin area. (The Turks, on the other hand, are quick to label "exemplary" the treatment of the Turkish minority in Yugoslavia.)

### The Kurdish Handicap

Ankara declared that it was determined to keep the question on the agenda of the various international forums. What are their chances of success? The Turks of Bulgaria, Ankara emphasized bitterly, have the ill luck to be Muslim, and their fate is of little concern to Western Europe, which is more inclined to denounce human rights violations in Turkey itself.

Moreover, even though they will barely admit it, the Turks suffer from another handicap--a very embarrassing one: their own attitude to the Kurdish minority, to whom they have refused any specific rights. In the documents they pass around in the West to counter Ankara's accusations, are not the Bulgarians playing fairly when they stress that, according to Turkish law, "Turkish nationals may only have Turkish names"?

9824

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BULGARIA

EDITORIAL STRESSES ROLE OF PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jul 85 p 1

[Editorial: "An Efficient, United Team: The Role of the Primary Party Organizations 10 Years After the Veliko Turnovo National Conference"]

[Text] With complete conviction that has withstood the test of time and experience, we can say today that the Veliko Turnovo National Conference has assumed exceptionally great importance and has become a memorable event in the life of our party, not only because it subjected to responsible, thorough, and creative discussion a crucial, cardinal question such as that of the condition of the primary party organization and the subsequent heightening of its leading role. The main, fundamental factor which has acted to keep its lustre from growing dim with the passing years, to make it a constantly present element, and to have it mark the beginning of a profound and radical change in heightening the combat efficiency of the primary organization, was the concluding speech delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The search has revealed forgotten or neglected truths which build up or tear down the authority of the primary organization. It has passionately defended a tradition in the history of our party, care to make certain that the attention of the leading organs is always focused on this cell, in which all vital topical questions are refracted as through a lens. Lastly, it has developed certain new formulations of questions extremely rich in conceptual content.

And so, at the end of this decade, we now draw happy and optimistic conclusions. Profound qualitative changes have taken place and are taking place in the life of the primary organizations. The organizations are becoming more unified and efficient, being transformed into a natural center, a social milieu, where new and more complex problems are resolved. What is the key to this positive step forward, this unquestionably significant development? The most general answer is that it is the clearcut political line, the creativity in development of theory over this period, the serious partywide campaigns conducted, and the concrete, efficient work done.

The idea conceived at the Veliko Turnovo Conference, that of the primary organization not just as a political nucleus but as the prototype of the future state of the labor collective, has matured and become richer over the years. The new formulations have been refined and have taken on flesh

and blood in creative search and actual practice: "a representative of the party in the labor collective and a representative of the labor collective before the party," "political managers of the labor collective," "a collective and steadfast bulwark of communists." All these formulations have been built into the model, the standard, the integrated concept of the primary party organization under conditions of establishment of advanced socialist society, the fruit of the 11th and 12th Congresses and of the subsequent new studies and approaches of the first leader of our party and state. There has been a succession not of superficial demonstrative measures but of genuine ones, living confirmation and proof the correctness of this concept. The replacement of the party booklets, which played an important part in serrying the ranks of the party, and the examination held every 2 years to improve the efficiency of the primary organization, which stimulates creativity and initiative, have been transformed into a unique test of the organizations' ability to lead and direct.

A decade is but an instant in history, but the growth of the primary organizations over this instant is so obvious and yet so difficult to measure, since the great majority of them are resolutely emerging from the sphere of passive registration of facts, of listening to information and reports on implementation of the plan, and of assignment of general tasks. Today more than ever they are able to evaluate the situation, to perceive problems and contradictions which have arisen, and correctly guide the efforts of communists. In a number of collectives the primary organizations undertake useful initiatives, skillfully harness the mind and strength of specialists and leading cadres, and subject everything and everyone, from the ordinary worker to the director, to rigorous examination. Effective political means and forms of production intensification, automation of production processes and management have been discovered and set in motion by the party bureaus at the Dimitur Dimov Chemical Industry Complex in Yambol. The technical progress councils established under the primary organizations at major enterprises in the city of Gotse Delchev are taking their first productive steps. The social development of the collectives is now being considered correctly, as an integral part of production. Communists of the Rodopi Tobacco Complex in Plovdiv have enlisted the efforts of everyone, and in the old buildings and base they have created enviable modern conditions for meeting the material and spiritual needs of the workers.

Another direction of change over the period in question has been enhancement of the prestige and the efficiency of the primary organization and improvement in its ideological and organizational life. Efforts are being intensified to develop initiative, to bring about creative, revolutionary thought and action, and to create an atmosphere of communist agitation and refusal to countenance weaknesses, errors, and moral deformities. The bold development of certain progressive tendencies, especially in democratism, is having a highly favorable effect and is being received with satisfaction on the part both of communists and non-members of the party. At open meetings they discuss the most important problems together and together serve on commissions, groups, and councils which study and prepare decisions. Opinions on these matters are advanced by worthy, respected, active persons or ones who have expressed a desire to join the party. The practice at the V. Kolarov Complex in Gabrovo is for the primary organizations to

enquire as to the influence and prestige of BKP [Bulgarian Communist Party] applicants. Usually two-thirds of them receive an affirmative reply. In a number of places the name of the person who is to be proposed as party secretary is not kept secret. On the contrary, ways and means are sought of soliciting the opinion of communists and non-members.

The unquestionable achievements and the strengthening of the guidance and educational capabilities of the primary organizations does not mean, however, that there are no exceptions and that an ideal state has been reached. Some put the best possible face on things, avoid inconvenient truths, and do not go far below the surface of appearances. In Kremikovtsi there are primary organizations which display relaxation of requirements, sometimes mix party forms and means with administrative ones, and go around in circles in current problems.

Experience has also proved that a definite relationship exists between the qualities and merits of the party secretary and the prestige of the party organization. The vast majority of the many thousands of leaders of primary organizations do their work with veritable missionary zeal. Unfortunately, persons are also elected whose prestige resides in their position rather than in their making their deeds match their words. Some erode the atmosphere, while others are unable to work harmoniously with the director and "coexist" in silence with him, while still others fall victim to the unhealthy ambitions of management personnel.

Today the main sector, the most important front, on which the strengths, the competence, and the leading role of the primary organizations are tested is that of giving meaning to, raising awareness of, and carrying into effect the historic decisions of the February plenum. This plenum has assigned fundamentally new tasks at the time of the "explosive development of technologies," setting the requirement of operation in a new, nonstandard situation, with new requirements, new arrangements, and new means and approaches. Of course, the primary organizations cannot bring about a decisive change in the collectives unless they change themselves, their views and their criteria, unless they throw their traditional weapons overboard and improve their style of work, which at present breaks the chain into many links and leads to failure of the most serious plans and projects. They must increase their responsibility for work assigned to them and exercise control in such a way as to prevent failures rather than ascertain them after the fact, by exerting pressure from below. In the party all persons are accountable regardless of the official positions they hold and must all be subjected to the "fusillade" of party criticism. It is essential for them to play responsible parts in bringing about change and progress, movement forward to seek out the commune party committees as well, replacing the passive fact-finding approach with a creative one, reducing the volume of paperwork and regulations, and overcoming stiff organizational formalism.

At the Veliko Turnovo conference 10 years ago, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that "in the last analysis the fighting efficiency of the party as a whole and its ability to lead the masses forward depend on the state of the party organization, its fighting efficiency and political maturity,



its links to the workers and the masses." This guiding thought has been put into practice and has yielded its results. It will also provide the impetus for occupying new positions, for attuning work to the wave of the scientific and technical revolution, and for uniting communists and all workers in preparation for the coming significant event represented by the 13th party congress.

6115

CSO: 2200/171

BULGARIA

## MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS, TREATMENT METHODS SURVEYED

Sofia SUVREMENNA MEDITSINA in Bulgarian No 6, 1985 pp 38-47

[Article by A. Zhablenski (Medical Academy, Scientific Institute of Neurology, Psychiatry, and Neurosurgery, Prof Vl. Ivanov Director: "Current Problems of Medical Practice: Scientific and Technical Progress, 'Health for All,' and Mental Health Care Problems in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Part I

The purpose of this article is to contribute to a discussion the moment for which has arrived in Bulgaria, a discussion of mental health care problems and of the development of psychiatry and its related disciplines and health care areas in Bulgaria. It is to be noted at the very outset that the concept of mental health and the problems reflected in it are not identical to the subject and scope of psychiatry but refer to a broader set of phenomena. Although, to paraphrase a well-known saying, we might say that "mental health is too important to be left to psychiatrists," we believe that psychiatry should play and continue to play a leading or coordinating role in study of the problem. However, it cannot perform this role without critical re-examination of its condition and functions and without resolutely overcoming its continuing relative isolation from and lack of contact with the fundamental problems and mainstream of development of health care as a whole.

In this contribution the problems and tasks facing psychiatry and other disciplines and sectors associated with the problem of mental health in Bulgaria are examined from the viewpoint of certain general modern trends typical of the advanced countries, both socialist and capitalist. Since the current stage of erection of a mature socialist society in Bulgaria not merely permits but objectively requires comparison with the best achievements throughout the world (along with attentive study of the errors of other countries), the basic points of reference in the exposition are not only and so much our own past accomplishments and weaknesses as rather the prospects and potential emerging over a period of at least 10 to 15 years into the future, that is, to the date often given as a symbolic turning point, the year 2000.

## I. Why Will the Mental Health Problem Become Increasingly Topical?

The very fact that, both elsewhere in the world and in Bulgaria, the broad term "mental health," not always given a sufficiently concrete definition, has acquired citizenship both in scientific language and in popular usage indicates that it covers a whole complex of phenomena making up one of the basic dimensions of human nature and society. It covers not only prevention and treatment of mental illnesses in the narrow sense of the word, but also the possibility of unimpeded development of the personality, of assertion of its full creative and social potential, its stability and "immunity" to pathogenic stress factors, its ability to assume an active position in life and experience satisfaction in the context of harmonious interpersonal relationships. The unquestionable ethical value nature of many of the components of the mental health concept and the conditions of mature socialist society reflect the regular growth in importance of the spiritual needs of society and the personality, after the possibility has been created of increasing satisfaction of material needs.

Psychiatry addresses itself to only one (and perhaps not even the most important) of the aspects of the mental health question. It would be wrong to require it to perform "social engineering" functions, and a clear understanding of this should protect us from errors and enthusiasms. At the same time, owing to the nature of the differentiated sector of health care and medical science, having its own infrastructure and "corpus" of scientific knowledge and practical skills, psychiatry has the natural vocation (at least at a certain stage) of serving as an organizing nucleus in formulating and solving topical mental health problems. The growing social and scientific importance of these problems is due to the following chief factors:

1. We are at present on the threshold of a veritable scientific revolution in study and analysis of the human brain and behavior. The scientific disciplines grouped together under the common designation of neurobiology and neuropsychology today represent one of the most vigorously developing fronts of scientific knowledge. In the decades immediately ahead the practical results of this accelerated development will expand manifold the possibilities of intervening in the intimate mechanisms of nervous activity, consciousness, and behavior, with all the useful effects and risks arising therefrom. It is to be expected that, among other things, the theory and practice of psychiatry will themselves be essentially transformed.

2. The swiftly advancing technologization of medicine necessitates increasingly clear understanding that every area of medicine has a psychological behavior dimension of its own which the traditional "organolocational" approach is incapable of comprising, and which is also unable to meet the related human needs which are the object of medical treatment. The improvement and large-scale introduction of new technologies in medicine and health care generate new, previously nonexistent psychosocial problems the solution of which is of no less importance than that of the intervention itself. Among the many examples in this connection we will mention only the psychoadaptive and behavioral problems of patients treated

by hemodialysis, the problems of organ transplants, those connected with maintenance treatment of cancer patients, of intensive care wards, of families with chronically ill or disabled children kept alive by modern treatment methods, the psychological aspect of medicogenetic consultation, and others. The solution of such problems cannot be left exclusively to the intuition and humanism of the health care worker; it requires serious scientific research and the application of so-called "soft" behavioral technologies to supplement the "hard" biomedical technologies.

3. Mental health problems arise regularly in each new stage of socioeconomic development. While until recently the problems in the foreground were the consequences of urbanization, industrialization, and migration from the countryside to the city (a higher incidence of neurotic and psychosomatic illness among employees in certain industries, problems of adaptation to the way of life in the city, especially among migrants, increase in alcohol abuse and "juvenescence" of such abuse), in the future we can expect problems of a new type resulting from qualitative changes in the nature of work as it is intensified and automated, due to the introduction of computers into the daily work routine and life, with the attendant behavioral and social consequences. Readiness to face such new problems and to prevent negative mental health phenomena will be one of the important factors in successful and integrated introduction of scientific and technical progress.

4. Independently of the growing preventive and therapeutic facilities, mental illness in the narrow sense, i.e., psychoses, neuroses, and other pathological reactions and developments of the personality, mental illnesses of old age and childhood, oligophrenias, etc, and the so-called psychosomatic diseases, continues and will continue to represent a considerable part of the general morbidity of the population, to cause serious economic losses, and to lead to considerable impairment of the "quality of life" of tens of thousands of families and hundreds of thousands of sick individuals in Bulgaria (it must be borne in mind that there are 195,000 more outpatients with mental health problems in Bulgaria than in 1981). To generalize worldwide experience as reflected in a large number of epidemiologic studies of populations demographically and economically comparable to the population of Bulgaria, we may say the following.

The statistical probability that a person selected at random from the total population will at some time in his life develop at least one episode of mental illness is of the order of 20 percent for males and 40 percent for females. In most cases the illnesses are classified as neurotic, depressive, or psychosomatic or as alcohol or drug dependency. The risk of contracting more serious and chronic mental illnesses is about 3 to 4 percent for men and 4 to 6 percent for women (it is around 1 percent for schizophrenic psychoses).

At any given time, between 5 and 10 percent of the total population suffer from functional disorders or some degree of social disability due to neuro-psychic injury or disease.

In the developed countries, no fewer than 14 to 15 percent of all persons applying to general health services (a health officer, for example) for help suffer from clinically manifest mental illnesses, often in conjunction with a physical ailment. Objectively speaking, only one-fifth of them require specialized psychiatric treatment. In many cases, however, the health officer is unable to detect the mental illness and treat it properly (typical errors are a diagnosis of "cardiac neurosis" or "nervous stomach," when in reality a state of fear and alarm is present, or the diagnosis of "neurasthenia," when it is a question of depression), and this leads to needless investigation, ineffective treatment, and economic losses.

The aging of the population in the developed countries is accompanied by the observation of a veritable epidemic of degenerative and vascular diseases of the brain accompanied by intellectual and behavioral decline. At an age above 70 the statistical risk of developing dementia exceeds 20 percent. A serious problem in Bulgaria is the very high frequency of cerebrovascular disease, which leads to neurological and mental disturbances, and there is a trend toward "juvenescence" of the morbidity.

Another epidemic is associated with the neuropsychic consequences of craniocerebral trauma occurring in transportation and production.

In the eyes of society, and of a considerable number of health care workers and management personnel, the conceptions of the nature, prognosis, and curability of mental illnesses are extremely imprecise and pessimistically colored; they lead to dissemination and hardening of a stigmatizing, prejudiced attitude toward the mentally ill which prevents their resocialization and rehabilitation, and in a number of cases even impairs their civil rights.

Even a necessarily cursory survey of the mental health problems which confront society and will continue to confront it indicates the need for intensification of efforts of the complex of scientific disciplines and health care and social welfare sectors whose mission it is to deal with these problems.

Despite a number of positive scientific and practical achievements, in Bulgaria psychiatry as a whole is below the world level from the viewpoints of organization, material resources, prevention and treatment, and scientific progress. This backwardness stands out very clearly if we take as a gauge psychiatry's ability to respond to the increased needs resulting from the array of problems indicated above.

During the era of establishment of socialist health care in Bulgaria, psychiatry is truly accomplishing a qualitative leap forward, especially when we take into account the extremely burdensome heritage and backwardness of this sector from the time of the bourgeois state. In the 1950's and 1960's, as a result of the decisive reorganization of psychiatric assistance on the basis of the experience of the USSR, and above all the establishment of a network of psyconeurological outpatient clinics, the basic needs of the population for essential psychiatric assistance were met. Subsequently, however, there was a gap in a number of respects between the new and growing

needs and the potential for meeting them promptly, both because of the limited base and infrastructure potential and because of the insufficient openness of psychiatry as a science, teaching, and clinical practice to what is most topical and necessary, to interdisciplinary problems and approaches, and to the tasks confronting health care as a whole.

The need for closing the gap in question has been on the agenda for some time. As early as 1976 a program was drawn up and adopted for preserving and improving the mental health of the Bulgarian people. This is a document whose formulations of principles and goals meet the most modern standards and have not lost their importance even today. In the current stage, however, we are faced with the need of reviewing this document (and possibly updating it), especially as regards timely formulation of goals and tasks and its transformation into a feasible action program adapted to the general directions of development of Bulgarian health care on the way toward implementation under our conditions and in our context of the resolutions of the Alma Ata conference (1978) and the principle of "health for all by the year 2000," the new statements of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the February (1985) plenum regarding the speeding up of scientific and technical progress, analysis of previous achievements and weaknesses while further developing and enriching the dispersion principle as the basis of mental health care efforts in Bulgaria, the practice and experience of the USSR and other advanced socialist and capitalist countries, and the expanded possibilities of fruitful cooperation with the World Health Organization.

## II. Definitive Trends in Development of Modern Psychiatry

When viewed on a world scale, the condition and development of psychiatry are seen to be far from presenting a uniform picture of prosperity and progress. Even in countries with an economic potential far greater than that of Bulgaria, psychiatry and health care are in a contradictory situation, and in many of the developed countries the basic needs of the population are not met as well as in Bulgaria. Accordingly, the "world level" spoken of in noting the backwardness of our psychiatry is seen to be one not fully reached in any individual country. It rather represents a generalization of individual achievements, successful solutions, and felicitously applied "models" of proven effectiveness.

The two main groups of factors and trends which are now exerting, and will continue to exert, a decisive influence on the role and functions of psychiatry and its allied disciplines associated with mental health problems, on the one hand, is scientific and technical progress, and on the other is the "social mission," i.e., the objectively imposed need for finding new forms of organization of prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation which will increase the effectiveness, accessibility, and acceptability of psychiatric help. The program of the World Health Organization over the last 10 years has been of considerable importance in formulation of new approaches to the social and organizational aspects of mental health on the international scale.

## Prospects for Scientific and Technical Progress

Among the basic sciences studying the brain and behavior, the greatest potential importance for the future is possessed by the new methods and discoveries of molecular biology of the nervous system. As a result of application of the technique of DNA-restriction enzymes (endonucleases) and the use of DNA fragments as probes, it will become possible in the next 10 to 15 years to "map" fully the genome of man (containing around 100,000 codons). This will lead to establishment of connected markers for the majority of genetic polymorphisms of clinical importance in man, and subsequently also to their accurate decipherment; this will open the way to primary prevention of a great number of the serious consequences of diseases of the central nervous system. A precursor of this qualitatively new stage in the development of neurobiology was the discovery, through combined use of population epidemiology and molecular genetic methods, of a genetic marker of Huntington's disease (a serious hereditary disease involving neurologic damage, psychotic disorders, and dementia). Discovery of the genetic code for synthesis of neurotransmitters and neuromodulators, the polymorphisms of which are associated with the etiology of schizophrenic and affective psychoses, may be expected to be of cardinal importance to psychiatry. Molecular genetics of the nervous system opens up previously unsuspected prospects not only in study of diseases, but through investigation of the so-called "resistant" genotypes also for understanding the principles of mental health.

Along with the genetic code, the fundamental sciences are faced with the task of deciphering the information code of the central nervous system, something which will bring us close to learning the specific neurophysiological mechanisms of the higher nervous processes and the mind, as well as their disorders. The molecular principles of elementary neural processes (stimulation-suppression, facilitation-habituation) have been discovered over the last decade, and currently the molecular mechanisms of the memory, learning, and the emotions are being intensively studied. One of the areas in which fundamental discoveries are applied the most promptly is that of the new neuropharmacology and psychopharmacology, for which the possibility is created of developing qualitatively new classes of drugs (for example, there is already today talk of pharmacology of the memory and of learning), as well as methods of "addressing" them with absolute accuracy to specific cerebral structures and even individual cells by connecting a therapeutic molecule to a monoclonal antibody.

At a higher level of integration of the cerebral functions, much fundamental research is currently aimed at study of the hemispheric specialization and so-called "modular" arrangement of the neuropsychic apparatus of man. The new findings in this area will be of extremely great practical importance in pedagogy and the psychology of the learning process, and also in treatment and rehabilitation of a number of mental and neurologic illnesses.

Entirely new scientific specializations are arising on the borderline between fundamental sciences, as for example psychoimmunology and psychoendocrinology. The data of these fields reveal the previously unsuspected

degree and precision of control exercised over all physiological functions and the organism (such as the immune processes) by the mind and the central nervous system, and accordingly add a new dimension and meaning to Pavlov's idea of "neurism" and to the concept of "psychosomatic medicine."

Contemporary scientific and technical progress is also leading to the development of radically new diagnostic and research instruments which allow non-invasive penetration of the morphology and metabolic processes of the living human brain. Computerized axial tomography, which is rapidly becoming an everyday occurrence, has been followed by the positron emission tomograph (PET) and nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR). In addition to the possibility of observing the dynamics of the energy exchange of individual regions of the brain, as well as visualization of morphologic structures down almost to the level of the individual synapse, the new techniques provide the possibility of quantitative determination of the number and density of the dopaminergic and serotonergic receptors in the living human brain, and thereby create prospects for instrumental diagnosis of some psychopathological disorders.

In another area of the spectrum of fundamental approaches to study of neuropsychic activity are the behavioral sciences and epidemiology. The problems of maturing of individual morphologic and physiological subsystems of the brain and the regular, sequential development of the cognitive functions determined by them, and also their modification during various stages of the life cycle are studied by new methods and means of psychology and the psychophysiology of development. Critical paths are thus opened into the early development of the central nervous system (including the intrauterine), whereby the genetic program of ontogenesis opens to an external stimulus certain information channels which are specific exclusively to a given stage of development and which subsequently disappear. The definitive formation of a number of neuron subsystems in the brain is not of itself genetically determined, but rather is carried out under the influence of external stimuli of high potential information value which must act on the central nervous system at a specific receptive moment. This mechanism has been almost fully revealed as regards the optical analyzer, but in this case is governed by a more general principle of development of the central nervous system thorough knowledge of which will have a revolutionizing effect on science and practical life (for example, as regards the rearing and early education of the child or primary prevention of certain mental illnesses assumed to be associated with departures from normal maturing of cerebral mechanisms).

Cognitive psychology, which has to do with the higher cognitive functions of man and consciousness, is developing at a rapid pace. One of the component areas of cognitive psychology is the psychology of creativity. There are natural links between cognitive psychology and study of the problem of artificial intelligence. One of the practical results of the "cross-breeding" of the two fields are the new approaches and programs for study of mentally retarded and autistic children by means of a personal computer.

Along with the research aimed at determining the etiology of individual illnesses (like the example of Huntington's disease cited above), modern



epidemiology of mental illnesses is making fundamentally new contributions to understanding of the significance of psychosocial factors in the pathogenesis and progress of diseases or in the formation of resistance to such disorders. One of the practical results of research of this kind is the currently existing complex of findings and methods associated with so-called protective social systems or "networks" (social support systems, social support networks), the study of which is of great importance for prevention, therapy, and rehabilitation in psychiatry. Another example in the same area is study of so-called life events and their role in the pathogenesis and progress of a broad spectrum of mental and somatic ailments. Prolonged observation and study over several decades of healthy persons and ones exposed to a high genetic risk of disease (for example, siblings of diseased children or adopted children of mentally ill parents), are today the source of unique scientific data permitting determination of the quantitative relationship and specific contributions of "endogenic" and "exogenic" causative factors in various groups of diseases and behavioral abnormalities.

The concise survey presented thus far of the new phenomena and prospects appearing on the "cutting edge" of the sciences of the brain and human behavior indicates the forthcoming new and higher stage of our overall concepts of man. For the first time in the intellectual history of humanity, monistic inclusion of partial scientific theories of phenomena and processes of qualitatively different levels of matter ("from the individual synapse to psychotherapy," in the words of the prominent neurophysiologist E. Kandel) is becoming a reality. The prospects of this scientific revolution disclose a new future for psychiatry and other disciplines associated with mental health problems.

#### The "Health for All" Concept and the Place of Mental Health Care in It

The concept of "health for all by the year 2000" actively publicized by the World Health Organization was given its definitive formulation and was unanimously accepted by all 164 countries which are members of the organization at the international conference on primary medical assistance held in Alma Ata from 6 to 12 September 1978. In essence and in general outline this concept reflects not only a humanistic ideal but also the main principles of a social program for development of health care throughout the world which is in keeping with the ideological and political principles of socialist health care(\*).

The "health for all" concept should not be understood in oversimplification, in the sense of a utopian desire to eliminate diseases by the end of

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(\*) The declaration adopted by the Alma Ata Conference states that "an acceptable level of health for all can be reached through more complete rational utilization of worldwide resources a large part of which is currently consumed for weapons and armed conflicts. A true policy of independence, peace, relaxation of tensions, and disarmament can and should free additional resources for peaceful purposes and especially for acceleration of social and economic development in which primary health care should receive its due share as an essential component."

this century (this is not a realistic goal and such is not import of this concept). The basic concept amounts to the feasible task facing every country on the way to rational planning and management of health care of securing for each of its citizens unimpeded access to scientifically substantiated measures and resources for preventing diseases, increasing resistance to pathogenic agents (i.e., "positive" health), and effective treatment and restoration of the ability to work when sickness does occur. The quality of such health service must be commensurate with the achievements of science and the stage of socioeconomic development reached, all citizens being assured of the possibility of leading a "socially and economically productive life," free to the greatest possible extent from disease and disability.

The "health for all" concept defines as a principal method of reaching this goal the building of an integrated and comprehensive health care system, the center and foundation of which must be primary care for the population. The latter should not be understood in the sense of elementary medical assistance. It is primary because it must precede all other health care activities and be oriented toward the fundamental health problems of the local social community. Primary health care includes the following elements: (1) health education of society; (2) rational nutrition; (3) protection of the environment, including the provision of pure drinking water; (4) health care for mother and child; (5) immunization; (6) prevention and control of locally widespread or endemic diseases; (7) effective treatment of the most common diseases and traumas; (8) provision of the most essential drugs. Primary health care is not exclusively a task of health care but of all other sectors at the local level linked to care of man and the environment, such as education, urban development, industry and agriculture, and communications and transportation. The primary health care subsystem should be capable of effectively meeting at least 70 to 80 percent of all the health care and medical needs of the population without referral to more highly specialized institutions.

The subsystems of secondary (specialized treatment) and tertiary (rehabilitation, care of the chronically ill) medical and medicosocial assistance are arranged like concentric circles around the center represented by primary health care. A separate health care subsystem is represented by medical science, in which an especially important place must be occupied, along with development and application of therapeutic and prophylactic technologies, by the epidemiology of contagious and non-contagious diseases and so-called operational research on the effectiveness and quality of health services, and study of needs and public opinion. The administrative subsystem and the information subsystems associated with it perform a coordinating function relative to the system as a whole.

The specific place of mental health care and psychiatry in the overall system as thus outlined will be determined in accordance with the conditions and the capabilities of the individual country. The view advanced by the World Health Organization is that in theory mental health care should cut across the three concentric circles of primary, secondary, and tertiary health care and that the task of rational planning in this regard is to determine which elements and activities should be infiltrated or integrated into each of the three basic levels.

Bulgaria is one of the few countries in the world which have already completed most of their journey toward practical realization of a health care system such as is recommended by the World Health Organization concept of "health for all." This journey is far from over, however, and the question to be resolved is that of definitive harmonization of health care with the full capabilities of the socioeconomic potential achieved by Bulgarian society. The problem of the future of psychiatry in Bulgaria cannot be considered separately from the general strategic courses of development of Bulgarian health care or outside the systematic approach which is methodologically decisive in elaboration of these courses. In discussion of needs and approaches to the future development of psychiatry, psychiatrists will consequently be expected to be not only clinicians but social physicians as well, guided not by "departmental" and narrowly professional interests but by an overall view of the system and its strategy as a whole.

### III. Modern Technologies of Mental Health Preservation and Treatment and Rehabilitation of Mental Illnesses

In contrast to the widening skepticism regarding prophylactic and therapeutic possibilities in psychogenic illnesses, the material presence and state of methods and technologies of prevention and treatment do not provide the slightest grounds for pessimism and nihilism. Even without waiting for the practical results of the scientific revolution in study of the brain and behavior, as discussed in the foregoing section, today we have available to us a wide array of means and methods many of which either are not used at all or have been introduced piecemeal, half-way, and only for part of those needing them. Many of these methods are seemingly simple and do not require costly and not easily accessible technical resources. They are, however, "learning-intensive," in the sense that they require precision and high professional competence for their successful application, as well as a high quality of organization and coordination of work.

The examples enumerated in what follows are given to illustrate the existing possibilities of primary prevention (averting the occurrence itself of illness), secondary prevention (elimination, curtailment, or moderation of an illness already in progress, chiefly through timely and effective treatment), and tertiary prevention (preventing the occurrence of social disability and other negative social consequences of disease). The order in which the examples are listed does not reflect ranking by importance; such ranking would rest on a real basis only following the most thorough analysis possible of the specific potential and conditions in a given country.

1. Up to 30 percent of congenital or early acquired encephalopathies (brain damage) leading to mental retardation, abnormalities of character, and neurologic disorders are preventable. A classic example is rubella encephalopathy, which in a number of countries (including Bulgaria) is either disappearing or has already been eliminated by vaccination of all children or young women at the beginning of the reproductive cycle. The majority of affections of the central nervous system caused by the neurotropic morbillous virus are also fully preventable by systematic vaccination of at least 90 to 95 percent of the child population. In the case of genetic or intrauterine neural tube defects, including anencephalias, early intrauterine

diagnosis by the cytologic method (via amniocentesis) or by determination of alpha-fetoproteins in the blood of the pregnant woman is now possible; in the near future even more accurate and less expensive immunologic methods will also be introduced. Prophylactic termination of pregnancy in such cases leads to lowering of the incidence of such ailments. It is possible in the same way to limit the spread of Down's syndrome (still incorrectly called mongolism); one of the most frequent forms of oligophrenia. Since a major known risk factor in Down's syndrome is the age of the parents (not just of the mother, as was assumed until recently), screening of all pregnant women over age 35 and of women pregnant by men over age 45 is an effective prophylactic program.

Cases of so-called "minimal brain damage" due to early and prolonged exposure to the toxic action of small doses of chemicals (lead, metallic mercury compounds, pesticides, and organic solvents) are becoming more frequent under modern conditions. In some countries (England, FRG, Switzerland) legislative steps have been taken to gradually eliminate gasoline containing lead as a major pathogenic agent to which childhood is particularly vulnerable.

2. Neurocerebral traumatism due to transportation and labor accidents is assuming epidemic proportions and annually adds new cases, primarily young persons, to the contingent of patients with mental and neurologic disorders. The obvious preventive measures (use of individual protective equipment such as safety belts and helmets and collective measures to increase traffic and labor safety) are too inadequate in practice to bring about an appreciable decline in morbidity. The causes include typical psychosocial factors associated with education, outlook on life, and self-control, which call for study by psychiatrists and psychologists. It still is not perceived with sufficient clarity, however, that the question of preventing traumatism and traffic and labor safety is also a matter of mental health care.

2. Among all the preventable sociopsychiatric and health problems, the largest scale is assumed by alcohol abuse, which leads to somatic pathology (liver, gastrointestinal, heart ailments), psychiatric and behavioral pathology (characteropathy, psychoses, intellectual deficiency), social pathology and traumatism (accidents, antisocial behavior, physical and psychological mistreatment of the family, especially children), and dysontogenesis (the so-called fetal alcohol syndrome in children of alcohol abusing mothers). Reduction of this pathology by even 25 to 30 percent would have an enormous medicosocial and economic effect on society. Proven resources exist for primary prevention (for example, in Scotland) by developing a broad educational program involving above all health officers, teachers, and families and by applying appropriate economic and legislative measures. Contrary to the widespread notion that prevention should be aimed at "endangered groups," the little success achieved thus far in reducing the frequency of alcoholism on the national or regional scale unequivocally shows that such a result comes about only if a statistically significant reduction of average alcohol consumption is achieved for the population as a whole.

4. Even if we dismiss here the question of drug dependency, which is of limited significance in Bulgaria, we must note the much wider distribution of latent dependency on frequently prescribed psychotropic drugs, chiefly benzodiazepin preparations and soporifics. The syndromes of this dependency are less well known to health care personnel, although they lead to chronic and serious problems. Since in the great majority of cases this dependency comes about iatrogenically (as a result of liberal prescription of "sedatives" in daily clinical and hospital practice), prophylaxis amounts above all to increasing the qualifications of outpatient and clinical physicians as regards psychotropic agents and to strict compliance by every worker and pharmaceutical authority with the WHO recommendations in this area.

5. A factor harming mental health on a mass scale is arterial hypertension and cerebrovascular disease. This is a complex problem in which cardiologists, neurologists, and psychiatrists are now predominantly passive recipients of already damaged cases. Effective solution depends above all on following active, generally healthy behavior, correction and elimination of behavioral risk factors (tobacco smoking, nutritional habits, hypokinesia), correction of hypertension in its initial stages, and behavioral "reprogramming" of persons at increased risk, along with use of modern methods of individual and social psychology, and work with the family and with the mass information media.

6. Properly conceived interventions applied on a large scale in childhood have a prophylactic effect on emotional (neurotic) and behavioral disorders in children. As cohort studies have shown, this effect has even wider-ranging positive consequences on formation of personality traits in adolescence. The most important finding of these studies is the need for continuity of parental care in early childhood and avoidance of institutionalization and hospitalization at this age. Since in many countries, including Bulgaria, children born outside marriage represent a considerable percentage (up to 10 percent) of all births, the question of early adoption and the medicosocial problems associated with it are of vital importance in prevention of emotional and behavioral abnormalities. In addition to the general measures for stabilization of the family, a number of other measures, such as psychogenic evaluation of conditions in children's hospital and educational institutions, psychological and psychiatric consultation in schools, etc, are tasks of the mental health sector of the health care system.

7. Under modern living conditions, a large number of the mentally ill are restored to a more or less normal existence in society, many of them requiring no more than a minimum of medical observation or outpatient control. An even larger number of persons with slight or episodic mental disorders do not receive specialized or outpatient treatment at all. In both groups symptoms of acute social maladjustment may occur in stress situations, abrupt changes in the daily routine of living, recurrent physical ailments, or other factors. Aggravation of the symptoms, antisocial behavior, or suicide attempts are possible (the latter also occur in persons with no mental illness in the narrow sense). A suitable form of therapeutic and prophylactic response in such situations is crisis intervention as

a specialized method of psychiatric first aid on the spot whenever it is required. Crisis intervention aims at resolution and control of the situation before it leads to undesirable psychiatric and social consequences and without resort to hospitalization, which may have an adverse effect in such cases.

8. Today we have effective and differentiated methods of secondary prophylaxis for a large number of mental illnesses in the narrow sense of the word. These methods do not amount merely to psychopharmacologic treatment but rather represent essentially integrated therapeutic programs, including optimally selected diagnostic criteria, methods of prognosis determination in the individual case, and selection of therapeutic agents in accordance with an individualized profile of biological, psychological, and psychopathological criteria and indicators for periodic evaluation of the effectiveness of treatment. In the case of schizophrenic psychoses, modern secondary prophylaxis aims at rapid control of the symptoms and behavioral abnormalities under conditions of short-term hospitalization (or outpatient treatment whenever such is possible) and early return of the patient to work and family and social life, with or without supporting psychopharmacological treatment. Differentiated diagnosis and prognostic assessment provide the possibility of selecting an optimum treatment program for the individual patient, and also of avoiding insufficiently substantiated therapeutic measures which may have adverse iatrogenic consequences (such as late dyskinesia in the case of mechanically prescribed "supporting treatment"). In the case of affective disorders, we have today a broad spectrum of psychopharmacological agents (tricyclic and other antidepressants, lithium salts, carbamazepine, monoaminoxidase inhibitors, etc); nonpharmacological treatment methods such as modified (unilateral) electroconvulsive therapy, sleep deprivation, and phototherapy; and improved diagnostic methods, which permit precise determination of therapeutic indications for the individual patient with depression and of "responders" and "non-responders" in a given form of treatment. With a large percentage of patients with recurrent affective disorders it is possible to break the cycle of morbidity and secure for the patient (and those close to him) freedom from new attacks as the years go by. Fear and alarm, phobia, and obsessive neurotic disorders, which along with depression represent the most frequent mental illnesses and can disable a patient for a protracted period, can also be successfully treated today with antidepressants, beta blockers, and so-called behavioral therapy (based on the conditioned reflex principle).

9. Tertiary prophylaxis (prevention of social disability, disqualification from occupation and employment and from living independently in society) also has new methods and findings available to it today. Group instruction in "social skills" for daily life (social skills training), so-called "cognitive therapy, and other modern approaches of social psychology to the re-socialization of patients are successfully filling the gaps left by better known rehabilitation methods, which are aimed primarily at restoral of work and occupational skills. It should be noted that the group methods of therapy and rehabilitation in psychiatry represent an effective and economically advantageous form of activity of psychiatric services and are suitable for much broader application than is currently practiced. The experience of a number of leading countries shows that the creation of organized

forms of self-assistance and mutual assistance involving the participation of former patients and members of the patients' families represents a very important therapeutical resource and reserve for provision of psychiatric services.

The examples given in the foregoing of highly effective technologies for prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation illustrate the interdependence and the need for combination of predominantly biological and predominantly psychosocial approaches with predominantly individual and predominantly collectively oriented methods of work. The degree and accessibility of their application, as well as the dimension of the real health care, humanitarian, and economic effect of their application depend on the social fabric into which they are woven and on the principles on which is erected the system of services within the framework of which they are conducted. The urgent task in Bulgaria is proper, scientifically substantiated selection of the essential arsenal of such technologies, their standardization and adaptation to the conditions prevailing in Bulgaria, and provision of the personnel and material resources needed for their wide application.

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EDITORIAL EXPOSES LABOR CODE VIOLATIONS

Sofia BULGARSKI PROFSOYUZI in Bulgarian No 6, 1985 pp 12, 13

[Editorial: "An Overview of Readers' Mail"]

[Text] During the last 6 months the number of letters sent to the editors every day has grown significantly. Our mutual relations with you, dear readers, have become more close and active, and this makes us happy.

"I beg you, comrades, to put yourself in my place!" "I have a great personal problem, help me..." "Advise me how to act..." Such requests and insistent demands make up about 80 percent of the letters written to us. All of this influx of letters signals violations of rights and proper obligations. They relate to labor remuneration and compensation, pension assurance, working time and overtime labor, hiring and firing, moving to another job, utilization of various social acquisitions, and many, many other areas. These questions are not something new. Each year, each day and month that passes by, they are repeated. What is alarming is that their number is still increasing, independent of the fact that these rights and obligations have been established by our labor legislation and by various normative documents. This gives us a basis once again for seeking reasons, for discussing the hundreds of cases which have so enriched our mail.

Zlatko Todorov, from the village of Vurbovets in the Vidin Okrug, writes that when he retired, they told him that he could receive a higher pension if he contributed 900 more workdays to agriculture. He accepted and worked 961 more days, but in vain. No one had informed him that after a new 3-year assignment he could receive a higher pension only if he wanted a suspension of the old one. There are sufficient similar violations. It happens that a working retired person who has received his salary and pension in full, has to return more than what he received. Many young people, such as Ivan Vichev from Veliko Turnovo, Angelina Milcheva from Burgas, Stoyan Ivanov from Topolovgrad, and others complained to us that their single-person tax has been improperly withheld. Our responses reminded several financial employees of the existing amendment to the Ukase for the encouragement of birth, published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, no 51 for 1984, according to which the term for freeing young families from the single-person tax was increased from two to three years after the



marriage. We could point out many other examples as evidence of one of the basic reasons for violations of workers' rights: ignorance of labor laws and legal regulations. It is true that proper regulation, especially of labor relations, is still very complicated, and unnecessarily so. But there is and can be no justification for ignorance of legal regulations. Here the question leads mostly to preparation, to the strict fulfillment of service obligations, this is a question of discipline and conscientiousness on the part of employees, who have taken on the execution of legislation. Swift measures are needed for timely and thorough study of the normative aids, intolerance of bureaucratic indifference. The recently frequent inquiries in connection with Decree No 16 of 24 April 1984, which went into effect on 1 July of this year, gives us basis for supporting Mladenka Ilieva from Plovdiv, who expressed this wish: "Young families should not be taxed, and in this way they could go to the state savings bank, in order to make use of the right to loans offered them by the state!"

The reasons for violations of the legal regulations and the resulting damages to workers' rights are not found only in lack of knowledge. Often the letters mention the ability to circumvent the law, to interpret normative documents in the opposite way. We are applying efforts to counteract these manifestations, lest any violation go unpunished. We thank all the leadership officials, who have taken our warnings to heart and reacted in time with the necessary measures they have taken. The damages inflicted on an individual are damages to the state and socialist legality.

Alarm of no less import is caused by another grouping of letters which also deal with some right that has been violated. But their authors write very unfairly and uniquely about the mistakes of their bosses (and sometimes their colleagues), but never about their own failings. Comrade Lyuben Nikolov, from the village of Kriva Bara in the Vratsa Okrug, for example, protests against his firing with the statement "Left willfully." He pleads for concern on his part, without being the "correct party" in the labor agreement.

Many of the readers who have written us during these 6 months likewise seek a non-existent right. They omit the obligation, which everyone takes on when he begins to work at a given enterprise. Plamen Lambev from Ruse has 3 months of experience at the Zhiti Plant. His work on the escarpments seemed difficult to him. He did not fulfill the norm, and his remuneration was correspondingly low, and he complained to us that the director would not agree to release him. Personal interest at the expense of the state and egotistical whims can be seen in a lot of letters. Let us remember that the right is not to "easy work and soft bread."

The editors express their sincere gratitude to all who write us. Almost 20 percent of the letters contain opinions and reports on questions raised under various headings of our journal. Participants in the great patriotic war for the Bulgarian nation have written to us, talking about heroism and self-denial in the struggle against German fascism, about

friendship with Soviet soldiers on the war's difficult roads. Workers and employees report to us with concern about the lack of responsibility in relation to socialist property. Many express their attitudes and pose questions about labor education for young people in families, in school, and at factories. The column "Our Question" helps us a lot in obtaining business contacts and concrete results. Questions about various failures to maintain order in domestic life and the working environment which gives the real name and addresses receive resolution. We receive affectionate reader responses about the columns "A Publicists' Agitation" and "Self and Society." The discussion section "Culture for Every Day and Every time" attracts the greatest number of participants in the huge discussion about the important issues of our existence and mores. Readers' letters have expressed interest and strong approval for various materials such as the article "Holidays" by St. Stratiev, a series of articles on quality by Delcho Amupov, "Advice for Business People," etc. With their letters and telephone calls, our readers criticize the mistakes and omissions permitted. We are most interested in your proposals for improving the quality of the journal; we hope they will be more numerous and critical. Letters come about issues which enrage you. Why are there so few about those things which make you happy and proud?

We are happy to receive each letter, each sincerely shared word about things great and small in the view of life.

We hope that the flow of correspondence to us will be even mightier!

12334

CSO: 2200/178

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# FOLLOWING SOVIET COURSE IS GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by Ivan Hlivka: "The Inspiring Example of Lenin's Party"]

[Excerpts] If we want to march successfully forward and fulfill our duties to the revolutionary national liberation movement, we must carefully analyze both the positive and negative experiences of building a developed socialist society, and, on the basis of this analysis, work out a strategy of development during the next period. Our international duty is to proceed in such a way as to augment the revolutionary strength of the socialist example in the eyes of the workers of the entire world and to win over their hearts and minds for the new social system.

We enjoy a great advantage in this respect. In our endeavor to solve problems and work out the strategy of the course of action we can make use of experiences of the CPSU which is now preparing its 27th Congress.

Experiences of Lenin's party have always been and are now doubly valuable for the fighters and builders of new life. Their significance transcends the present. They deeply and far-reaching affect the course and direction of world events and form the future.

It is not accidental that the statements of M. Gorbachev and other leading CPSU representatives have met with a great response not only among our workers and are an important stimulus for the CPCZ work in the future, but are sympathetically received by all progressive forces in the world. The creative Marxist-Leninist approach of Soviet comrades to the solution of domestic and world problems is encouraging. In view of the fact that it focuses on the solution of worldwide long-term problems, it is of historic significance. After all, the very process of improving the society of developed socialism directly affects the general course of world events and helps solidify the international positions of world socialism. Not only that, but the successful development of the land of Soviets is that fundamental factor which logically determines the unavoidability of fundamental changes in the relation of forces between the two world social systems in favor of socialism, peace and social progress.

Political and theoretical conclusions of the CPSU are thus of great importance for the entire communist movement. Communists can use them in the formulation of their political line. The new wording of the CPSU program which will be approved by the 27th Congress will undoubtedly represent a rich source of learning for all of us.

The CPSU profoundly and thoroughly analyzes the nature and most important peculiar features of the present stage of the worldwide development. The period which elapsed since the last congresses of our parties opens a sufficient horizon for conclusions and generalizations of long-term significance. One of them lies in the fact that the process of favorable changes in the balance of power on the world battleground is the source of the permanent growth of the role of socialism in the course and prospects of international relations. The past years have confirmed that this tendency in the development of international relations has stabilized. The fundamental problems of international relations have thus assumed a new nature in many respects. The possibilities of foreign policy have immensely broadened, the potential of its positive influence on the course and results of most important world events has noticeably increased. This is evident from the fact that foreign policy of socialism has been recognized as a major factor in peace and guarantee of nations' security.

From this logically arises the necessity to further improve and expand cooperation of fraternal parties and countries in the international field, to strengthen ties between them, to increase their economic and defense potential. Any slackening of this effort would do harm to everyone of us, to the cause of peace and social progress in the entire world.

Great significance is attached by the CPSU to the development of theory and practice of socialist foreign policy in such an important area as the relations between the socialist states. Socialism laid solid foundations for expanding and improving overall cooperation between the socialist countries in the economic, political, cultural and other areas. During the recent period these relations have reached a new level: their content and form have become considerably richer and the conditions are now being created for their further overall development on the qualitatively higher level.

In accordance with this strategic requirement comrade G. Husak recently stated that the imperialist circles have been incessantly trying to drive in all possible ways a wedge between the socialist countries and that the CPCZ would also in the future adhere to its principled course based on the allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism; to consistently implement the firm line of intensifying cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries of our community; to participate fully and actively in the implementation of coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community, in the joint struggle for the defense of peace and for averting the imperialist threat.

It is a well-known fact that imperialism counts primarily on the economic weakening of socialism and disruption of unity of fraternal countries.

This again makes it imperative to take new, significant steps in the development of the national economy and cooperation of fraternal states. Experiences demonstrate that the intensification of party influence can considerably solidify our unity, ensure more profound mutual study of experiences from the building of socialism and utilization of best experiences for speeding up the development of our entire community.

The CPCZ is in accord with the CPSU and other fraternal parties that the key issue in the implementation of most strategic tasks which our community and each country face is the close coordination of the production-technical base with scientific-technological progress and capital investment. This involves cooperation in those areas in which, with reference to the tasks to be implemented prior to the year 2000, international links have assumed extraordinary importance. This understandably places qualitatively new demands both on the domestic management and international cooperation. A jointly coordinated course of action in the application of new scientific and technological findings in production will provide for expansion and intensification of specialization and particularly production cooperation, but also for reducing technological-economic dependence on the capitalist states.

Of fundamental importance is the strategy of economic policy worked out by the CPSU in the area of further improvement of planning and management of the national economy, improvement of central management and planning through more effective use of economic tools and value relations, more precise definition of status and role of individual levels of management.

At the present time fraternal parties pay special attention to the manner in which the CPSU approaches the solution of urgent economic problems, better utilization of advantages of the socialist system and above all of the enormous possibilities of the planned economy--in the interest of all strata of the society in further improvement of socialist way of life and socialist democracy.

The strategic course of the party of Soviet communists provides a cogent argument against the anticommunists' and revisionists' fabrications of allegedly undemocratic and undynamic nature of Soviet economy, incapability to solve the extensive problems of contemporary scientific-technological progress. Against those who link the solution of problems primarily to the acquisition of "Western" technology.

The Soviet strategy of peace against the imperialist strategy of war, combination of peace with social progress and national liberation has met with great international response.

The CPSU wages a struggle for the solution of burning international issues not from the positions of toothless pacifism, sterile objectivism, unprincipled compromising with the class enemy, but from the clear class positions. This helps the communist and democratic forces easier understand the contemporary international situation, sources of its tension and possibilities of its outcome. At the same time it helps them take an active attitude

toward the events. The struggle for thwarting aggressive imperialist plans of the United States and its allies is the most important direction of the worldwide class struggle today.

The Marxist-Leninist policy of fraternal parties, their ideological and action unity, support of the CPSU policy -- this is the most correct road to attaining the set goals in building the new society and to securing permanent peace in the world. The CPSU and other communist and workers parties exert a great deal of effort in this direction.

10501

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LACK OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN HOUSING PROJECTS NOTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by Hana Labudova and Daniela Mannova: "Places for Sleeping Only?"]

[Excerpt] More than one-third of all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia live nowadays in housing projects. It is primarily young families with children and teenagers that move in there. They spend most of their leisure time in the evolving housing complexes, actually sort of small towns. And since, quite rightly, all civic facilities such as kindergartens and primary schools, nurseries, workshops and stores belong to towns, it is only proper that they all be also in housing projects. We are gradually succeeding in creating in the housing complexes the basic conditions for complete civic facilities.

People living there obviously do not even realize any more that these conditions include also accessible recreational facilities, primarily for children and youth. It is a sad fact that precisely these facilities are completely lacking in our housing projects. Already in the plans for the projects, playgrounds, spaces where children can play, stadiums, swimming pools, clubrooms, even quite modest sites for sport activities or health spas are pushed to the last place, and then, even though they were in the original plan, they are very often eliminated during construction. In this instance, money is being saved in the wrong place. Much has been said and written already about the importance of purposeful use of leisure time by children and young people. However, they do not have the [proper] environment for it, especially not if they live in housing projects. Research based on results from 22 housing projects show that, in the average, recreational facilities exist in only 15 percent of them.

It is very important for our young generation, for the development of the family, for life in the housing projects, and for the whole society that this situation be quickly changed. Recently the Presidium and the Secretariate of the Central Committee of the Party and the federal and national governments have dealt with these problems several times and adopted clear-cut measures.

We traveled to see Ceske Budejovice which is also surrounded by new housing projects. Our trip led us first to the building which houses the local national committee. The national committees on all levels bear the responsibility for enforcing all housing stipulations and urban norms set by the regime.

The plenary session of the national committee approves every project for a new housing settlement, looks at its facilities, including also all recreational facilities for children and teenagers. Thus it would appear that the national committee alone is to blame if these facilities are missing in the housing projects. Frequently, however, the plans are altered during construction, especially as a result of actions of building organizations that insist that they have neither the means nor capacity for the construction of such facilities, no matter how modest they may be.

We toured three housing projects in Ceske Budejovice with Miloslav Hounek, Vice-Chairman of the CNC [City National Committee] of Ceske Budejovice--"Vitezny unor" ["Victorious February"], completed in the 70's and inhabited by 8,500 people; "Vltava" ["Moldau"] which, almost finished, houses 12,500 people; and we also went to see the housing project "Maj" ["May"], the larger part of which one can see only in the blueprints of Stavoprojekt. It is supposed to house some 30,000 people.

In the center of the housing project "Vitezny unor" stands the House of Culture. It is a two-story, spacious building; its shortcoming is that the ground floor is occupied by stores (perhaps to the detriment of the originally planned library); one floor can hardly satisfy the hunger for clubrooms of which there are none in the whole settlement. With the exception of playgrounds at the grade schools and small sites built by citizens in the Campaign "Z", one will find nothing here where young people could spend their free time.

Citizens' committees and people's voluntary work are making up for that which was supposed to be built and was not. They are usually starting with playgrounds for schools and physical training associations. In the housing project "Vltava", for instance, the physical training association of the same name took over the management of the school playground and is building on it the necessary outdoor sanitary facilities and dressing rooms. The original plan did not foresee the possibility that the playground might be used also after school, and by others besides the school's students. This is the problem of the vast majority of school playgrounds: one cannot enter them, except during school hours, if not for other reasons than simply because washrooms and dressing rooms are only in the school building. The planners should take this fact into account and plan in a way that would enable also other inhabitants of the housing projects to take advantage of the playgrounds.

But even the present state of affairs is not insoluble. At its recent meeting, the government of the CSR charged the national committees, among other things, to check the utilization of school, physical training, and other facilities, and to take appropriate measures wherever necessary. It is obvious that the legal regulations will also have to be adjusted in order to create political and economic conditions that would, for instance, enable retired people to take over the operation, servicing, and maintenance of the playgrounds and the physical training equipment.

In the housing project "Vitezny unor" we saw a playground belonging to the Pedagog Physical Training Association. Its members can use it free of charge



any time, as is customary at the majority of our associations' sport facilities to which other citizens ordinarily do not have access. As an experiment, at the Pedagog playground they are charging other citizens for the use of their facility. This is one of the possibilities; even the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, while discussing the Principles of Future Development of Mass Physical Training and Sport, recommended it for inclusion into the National Front campaign material that is now being prepared. In this context, the question arises why such activity must always remain only an experiment when it works.

Then we viewed in Stavoprojekt the plans for the future housing project "Mag". Besides the apartment houses we also saw a sport stadium, a pond, and a movie theater. We liked the plan. But as the architect Otto Kubik, the chief planner, explained to us, the pond and the stadium will most probably remain again only on paper. Why? Architect Kubik said, "We are putting the cultural and physical training facilities for leisure time mostly at the bottom [of the list], since on the scale of importance they are ordinarily put at the bottom." In the opinion of the architects, the library will obviously also have to be built later in the Campaign "Z", as will the planned playground. That means that what could and should have been built at the same time as the apartments will be completed laboriously, slowly and with great many complications only when the housing project is finished.

When the highest party and government agencies discussed the problems of mass development of physical training and sport, they emphasized, among other things, the necessity to include the recreational facilities into the over-all housing construction. They are decreeing that the preliminary concept of CSSR's housing policy for the Eighth 5-year plan should guarantee [the construction of] the needed number of children's playgrounds, clubs and club-rooms for youth within the framework of the over-all housing construction. This demand will surely appear also in the new campaign literature of the National Front. However, if it is to be realized, it is imperative that the conditions, as they exist in practice, be adjusted accordingly. In the tables listing all facilities in housing projects, these are not found among the first 15 items. If the desired change is to take place, it will be necessary to modify the hitherto used planning methods of housing construction now, while they are still in the planning committees of the national committees,

Along with other partners, the Czech Commission for Scientific, Technical and Investment Development is already engaged in architectonic studies of recommended types of group recreational facilities for children and youth living in housing projects. Plans of this sort cannot be implemented instantly, but it is necessary to work on their implementation intensively and without delay.

12435

CSO: 2400/511

HUNGARY

# NEW TRAVEL OFFICE TO OPEN IN LOS ANGELES IN SEPTEMBER

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Jul 85 p 4

[Article: "Hungarian Travel Agency in Los Angeles"]

[Text] It has happened for the first time that three enterprises have arranged the opening of a joint cooperative agency on the West Coast of the United States, in Los Angeles.

A joint-stock company called Hungarian Hotels Sales Office, whose members are the Danubius, the HungarHotels and the Pannonia as well as Thomas Vagi Associate in the United States, begins its operation early in September of this year. The agency's director, Dr Andras Bolgar, says the following:

"The goal of our agency is to promote North American tourist traffic--it has been developing favorably for years--in accordance with the interests of foreign tourist traffic in Hungary, to provide authentic information in the West Coast region, and to establish personal contacts with the local journalists and travel bureaus. We offer group and individual trips of a few days or of several weeks, and hobby tours. As a site for conferences we recommend the Budapest Congress Center and the Budapest Sports Hall. We market the spa hotels, and we put together European tours which include London, Paris and Vienna in addition to Budapest."

"Who will be your partners?"

"Many tens of thousands of travel agencies operate in the United States, and so far we have appealed to 28,000 of them by mail. We conclude from the return notices that we can work together and maintain contact with 3,000-4,000."

"How much will it cost to run the agency?"

"We are counting on an outlay of \$210,000 a year, and this includes wages for two American employees. The expenses are, of course, covered jointly by the members of the joint-stock company. We anticipate a business of \$700,000 for the first year but for the third year of operation enough for the agency to be self-supporting from its commissions."

12327  
CSO: 2500/463

HUNGARY

HARSH CRITICISM OF KISZ BY YOUTH PARLIAMENT

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 5, 1985 pp 22-23

[Article by Zsuzsa Szep: "Negative Answer or Useful Criticism?"]

[Text] News of the youth parliament at the Attila Jozsef High School has spread far and wide. "They gave it a piece of their mind," reported the outsiders. There is no question that KISZ [Communist Youth League] came in for harsh criticism, and yet it is also a fact that intelligent and logically constructed comments were made at this meeting, which lasted no less than 9 hours.

The outside observer can pose the question: "What can you talk about for so long?" The students spoke of their own worries, their everyday life. Not just the customary topics--textbooks, cigarette smoking, etc--appeared on the agenda: more than once the speeches touched upon the difficulties of political life inside and outside the school. "KISZ needs to be reformed," it was heard. "Allow us to decide where we would like to go and what we would like to do," said another speaker. They also took a stand against bureaucracy. "Do not specify how many should go marching. Put an end to the primacy of statistics and cadre numbers. Let participation in a ceremony be sincere, not compulsory." In short, the students pleaded. The reaction was still surprising. "The teachers do not support KISZ life in the high school," went the rumor.

The Attila Jozsef High School is a building mellowed by age on the outside. Yet inside the entrance gate the visitor is greeted by a gloomy scene. They have been remodeling the school for 17 months now. The principal no longer wastes his time complaining. Needless to say, they will have to put up with it until the end of the year--while in a squatting position.

"I heard that the youth parliament was prepared in advance for the students. Were they really inspired to make observations?"

"Our school is much too democratic for that to happen. We do not have to prod anyone to speak at a parliament. I did ask the KISZ committee members to participate by all means in the youth parliament. I did not order a single one into my office to tell him what to say if he took the floor. They themselves decided what they would like to talk about. And it is thanks to this, perhaps,

that we held a 'marathon' parliament. But it was worthwhile. They spoke beautifully, intelligently. However, the majority of speakers did not rank among the most gifted students," says Principal Janos Palotas.

"We do not insist on formal outlines," interrupts Laszlo Kiralyhegyi, the school's party secretary. "The students express their own opinions. Still, sensible issues were raised. We considered the overwhelming majority of speeches good and useful, and they had a motivational rather than an inflammatory power."

"I have reason to believe that the students did not express a particularly good opinion about KISZ. Does the youth organization really function badly?"

"The KISZ organization is not at all weak in our school," replies the principal. "Roughly 700 out of 1,000 youths are KISZ members, and this means that it is not compulsory to become a member here. A student joins KISZ when he feels it makes sense. Unfortunately, however, our material circumstances are rather poor. There is no hall where the KISZ members could plank themselves down. Our studio equipment has not worked in more than half a year. The principal's office is not only a conference room but a storeroom at the same time. Sometimes the workers even get dressed here. In short, adverse conditions prevail. And during all this we cannot complain about the students. They often go to the theater together and now, through work they have voluntarily undertaken, they are contributing to the funds necessary for the foreign surgical operation on one of their fellow students. They do all kinds of things for each other and for themselves. Their opinion of KISZ was negative for different reasons. They are annoyed, for example, by the fixed cadre numbers tied to events."

"And they are right about that," says authorized KISZ supportive teacher Ildiko Sarkadi, joining the conversation. "For the Faklyas peace demonstration the students were summoned and told how many had to turn out. Everyone was there, but more out of respect for the school. Yet they grumbled: 'Why were supervisory teachers and an organized march necessary?' So we only announced the program for the next similar 'topical' event. Afterwards we were afraid that nobody would show up. To our great surprise, there were more at this demonstration than we had anticipated."

"Now, for example, I have received the invitations to the 15 March wreathing," moans Rita Varga, the school's KISZ secretary. "I do not dare to stand in front of the others and tell them they have to be there. But I have no choice. And if I only say when the wreathing will be, many would undoubtedly be there at the Petofi statue."

"Since the parliament, the rumor has spread that the students want to create a different kind of organization, one that is more open and free of politics, and that this scheme is supported by the teachers."

"In point of fact, one of the students mentioned that he had studied Marxism a lot and then it had dawned on him that he hardly knew anything about it. He does not consider it proper to apply the adjective 'communist' to a disco," answers the principal. "The student said that if they want to dance and have a good time, then it must not be dressed in a political garment; the student

organization is adequate for that. From his cleverly constructed observations, it just seemed to those sensitive to negative things that he was dissatisfied with KISZ. A colleague on the KISZ Central Committee was at the school, and yet he was unable to give an entirely satisfactory answer to the children's doubts and misgivings. Nor was anybody struck by the fact that the seemingly harsh opinions were not precontrived; they were given in complete spontaneity. The fact that they could freely express their doubts is an outgrowth of our democracy. We did not censor the comments, and afterwards we did not keep an eye on those whose observations did not coincide with the official standpoint. If this can be called support, then let us call it that. But I must add that many of us on the faculty are party members, communists. So it would be utterly inexplicable if we were to take a stand against KISZ, and not in favor of it. Actually, to tell the truth, we do everything to see to it that the youth organization functions smoothly. Therefore, our reply to their questions at the parliament was that they should not establish a new organization but rather instill some life into the already existing one."

"And why is there no success in perking up and resuscitating the KISZ organization?"

"The work is disturbed enormously by the fact that our material conditions are poor. The construction in progress plays havoc with all ideas. It does not come down to just that, of course. There are too many of us, and to create a spirited political life would bring credit to an independent KISZ leader. In my opinion, the result which an average student at our school is currently striving to achieve in the workers' movement really must not be underrated. Yet there is still another important--maybe decisive--reason for the students' critical tone. Young people do not walk around with their eyes shut. They do not live only within the high school's walls. They evaluate what they see and experience in society, and the result is not always radiant optimism."

It is not necessary to add much to what has been said. Perhaps only that if it possible for the students to be honest, then that is an achievement rather than a "sign of alarm." Spontaneous and candid opinions--even if they are unexpected--must not be overexplained. And if there are young people who criticize with the purpose of making improvements, then we must investigate first and foremost why their opinion is negative. Their having something to say and not hiding it under a bushel achieves more than passive acquiescence. Instead of this, they reason and debate openly, sincerely, courageously. And it is good that this is the way it is...

12327

CS0: 2500/463

HUNGARY

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

Falling Living Standards

Budapest JELKEP in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 173-177

[Article by Robert Tardos: "Decreasing Reserves" pp 173-174]

[Text] Results of a series of research projects conducted on the economic adjustment of families show that people can counterbalance less and less the decline of the standard of living by limiting their consumption.

Some 41 percent of those questioned in the autumn of 1984 said that if his family temporarily got into a more difficult financial situation he would try primarily by working more to bring the family budget into balance.\*

Among the active wage earners in 1980 those who opted to limit consumption formed the most populous group (36 percent). Their ratio decreased to 35 percent in 1982 and 30 percent in 1984, while the ratio of those electing to work more increased to 46 and 47 percent, respectively.

What is hiding behind the changes is not so much the increase of demands as rather the deterioration of the financial situation of families, exhaustion of the reserves hidden in the limitation of consumption. From 1980 to 1982 the ratio of those still increased who felt that obtaining various home improvement, durable household and cultural items and services in their free time was not luxury but natural. But from 1982 to 1984 this tendency halted, and even reversed somewhat with respect to the whole of those goods in question. Primarily the services and goods related to the spending of free time (such as travel abroad, eating out, dressing stylishly) were classified in greater proportions as luxury. (In the case of other things mainly the answers in the middle, referring to uncertainty, became more frequent.)

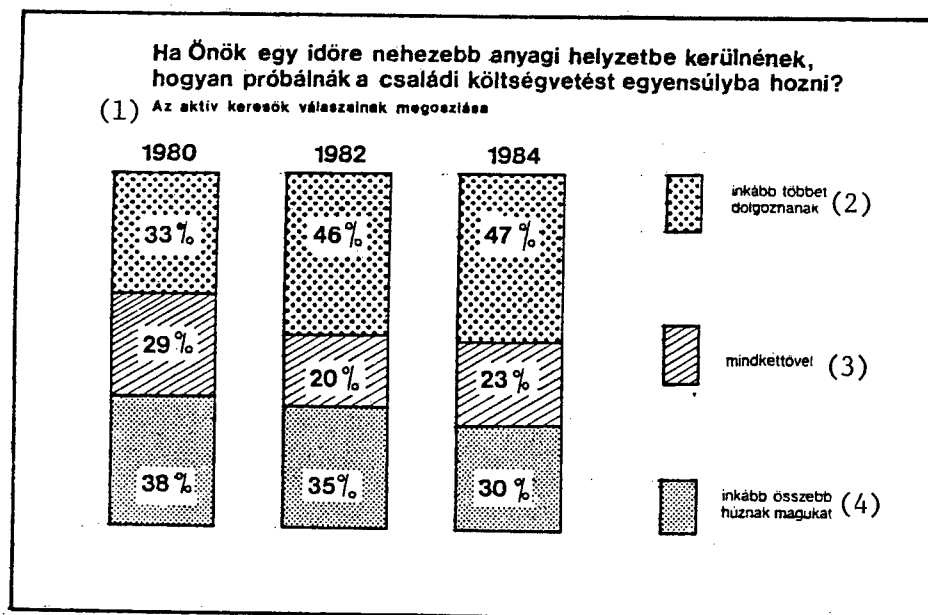
It also indicates pressure on the personal financial situation that from 1980 to 1984 the ratio of those decreased significantly who would be satisfied if

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\*The studies were done in 1980, 1982 and 1984 on a sample of 1000 persons representing the country's adult population.

in the next 4-5 years the standard of living of their families did not change. In 1980 40 percent of those of active wage earner age said that they would be disappointed in this case. In 1982, 50 percent of them gave this answer and in 1984, 54 percent.

Graph 1.



If you temporarily got into a more difficult financial situation how would you try to bring the family budget into balance?

**Key:**

1. Distribution of the replies of active wage earners
2. would rather work more
3. both ways
4. would rather decrease consumption

The answers referring to additional burdens accepted for the higher income also indicate the efforts aimed at increasing the income. Compared to 1980 significantly more people would do half-again as much work in 1984 for half-again as much earnings (46:61 percent), and significantly more people would accept assignments which involve frequent work on the weekends (43:56 percent). Even if to a lesser extent, the ratio of those also increased who would also accept much greater responsibility for higher earnings (55:61 percent), or who would also complete a longer, difficult course of study (53:58 percent). At the same time the given increase in income would represent an adequate value to counterbalance living lastingly apart from one's family for a minor portion of the wage earners (22 percent), and for the significantly poorer working conditions (26 percent).

Abstract: The results of a series of research on the economic accomodation of the families show that people find it more and more difficult to compensate for the decreasing living standard by restricting their consumption.

Public Mood on Economy

Budapest JELKEP in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 175-176

[Article by Judit Pataki: "High Degree of Pessimism"--About Development of Public Opinion on Economy]

[Text] In the last half year overall the adult population's economic mood has further deteriorated.

In the autumn of 1984, 88 percent of the people said that the country has economic difficulties.\* A high degree of growing awareness of the topic area is indicated by the fact that about 10 years earlier, in the spring of 1975 only 53 percent of them gave this answer.

Of those asked, 27 percent judged the country's economic difficulties as severe, and 35 percent said they are lasting.

Some 41 percent of the people expects that the country's economic development will not change in the next year or two: 37 percent of them thinks it will accelerate, and 11 percent says it will slow down.

People also said most frequently about the standard of living that it will not change in the next year or two (40 percent), 32 percent of them judged development of the standard of living optimistically, and 24 percent of them pessimistically.

Speaking about their personal financial situations the decisive majority of the people voiced a high degree of pessimism. Some 85 percent of them feel that in the "race" of earnings and prices the latter have "won", that is, the rise of earnings did not cover that of the prices. The ratio of those is not much smaller who feel that their real income has also developed unfavorably: 76 percent of those asked said that compared to that of a year ago they could buy less with their incomes. And finally the people also judged the buying-purchasing opportunities unfavorably, and indeed the largest change occurred in the judging of these: from the spring of 1984 to autumn 1984 the ratio of those increased from 42 percent to 51 percent who have experienced that their buying-purchasing difficulties increased in the past year. Opinions concerning the personal situation have never been this pessimistic in any time period examined thus far.

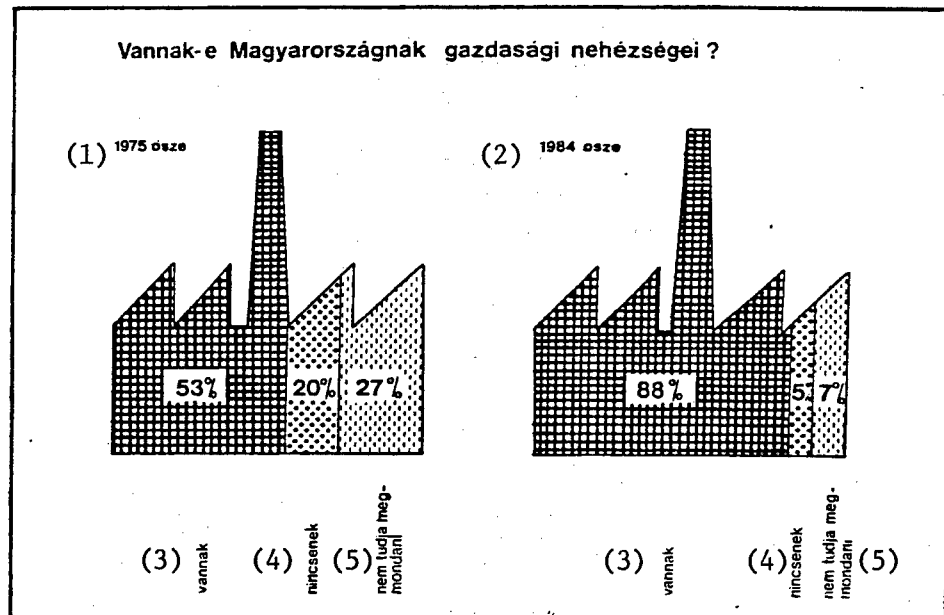
Abstract: In the past 6 months the general feeling of the adult population concerning economic situation has continued to worsen.

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\*The study was made on a sample of 1000 persons representing the country's adult population.



Graph 2.



Does Hungary have economic difficulties?

Key:

1. Autumn 1975
2. Autumn 1984
3. It has
4. It does not have
5. Can not tell

Private Sector--Better for More

Budapest JELKEP in Hungarian No 2, 1985 pp 176-177

[Article by Maria Szurkos: "Better--For More"--Opinions About the Private Sector]

[Text] Most people make use of the services of private retailers but do not want their numbers to increase.

According to the data of the study\* 66 percent of the adult population usually made purchases from private retailers. Primarily they buy vegetables and fruit (two-thirds of them), secondarily clothing items (more than one-third of them), and thirdly automobile and motor parts (15 percent of them) and bakery items (10 percent of them). Other types of merchandise were mentioned in smaller proportions than this.

\*Study made on a sample of 100 persons representing the country's adult population in the autumn of 1984.

Of those who buy vegetables and fruit 69 percent find the merchandise of the small retailers better looking and fresher, 14 percent see the selection as larger, 12 percent of them can get only here what they want, and 8 percent of them find the prices lower. Nearly one-fifth of those buying vegetables and fruit mentioned that the private retailer's store is closer.

Purchasers of clothing items mentioned quality, style considerations and selection in the same ratio (around 30 percent). Some 18 percent of them find merchandise items at the private retailers they can not find in the state operated stores.

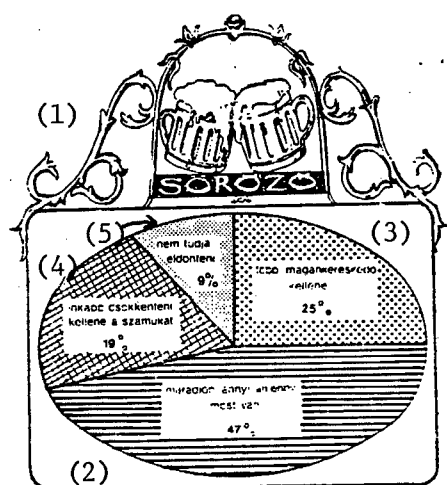
Nearly 90 percent of those purchasing automobile and motor parts can not get what they need in the state-operated stores. They mentioned in a ratio of about 10 percent that the private retailer's store is closer and its selection is bigger.

More than three-quarters of those buying bakery items find the merchandise of the small retailer more attractive and fresher and for one-fourth of them the small retailer's store is closer. Some of them mentioned larger selection and courteous service.

Some 34 percent of the adult population do not shop at private retailers. Its need does not even occur to 12 percent of them: either because they can get what they want in the state stores, or because they produce what they need. There aren't even any such stores in the towns of 10 percent of those asked, and 7 percent of them do not shop at the small retailers because they find their merchandise to be expensive.

Those who also buy from private retailers find that they are more courteous than the sales clerks of the state stores and their knowledge of the business is also greater. They say that there is no overcrowding, shortness of tempers or standing in lines, at small traders. They also are more conscious of hygiene. They mentioned only lower prices as advantage in the state stores.

Graph 3.



Key:

1. Beer Hall
2. There should remain as many as there are now
3. More private retailers would be needed
4. Rather their numbers should be decreased
5. Can not decide

Twenty-five percent of the population would like to see more private retailers-- primarily in the hope of larger selections and fewer shortage items. Some 47 percent of them would prefer if their numbers did not change, and 19 percent would like to see fewer of them. One-third of those opposing the increase consider the ratio of the state-operated and private sectors to be just right: either because they find the supply to be good or because they do not think that increasing the number of small retailers would improve the supply. One-fourth of them mentioned as justification the high prices of private retailers and even their effect of driving the prices upward.

Besides all this 48 percent of the people expect that in 10 years a higher ratio of the stores would be private retail units than are today. Ten percent of them think that the ratio of private sector stores will not change, and 10 percent of them think it will decrease. Some 32 percent of those asked did not wish to make predictions.

Abstract: The majority of people take advantage of the services of private retailers, however, they do not want their number to grow.

8584

CSO: 2500/464

HUNGARY

# PROFILE OF VGMK BOOK PUBLISHER DESCRIBED

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 23 May 85 p 30

[Article by Eva Zenes: "The Private Publisher"]

[Text] The debate was still raging over whether we needed private book publishing and if we did, whether the "private sector" book would lead the readers' taste in the desirable direction, when Masprint, the Magveto Publishing House's enterprise business work partnership (vgmk), was established.

Technical editor Peter Fraunhoffer is not particularly enthusiastic about the books of private publishers, which is odd, because on the basis of their efforts the Zalatnay volume entitled "Nem vagyok en apaca" [I Am Not a Nun], a bestseller in recent weeks, has made its way into the stores. It is also true, however, that Masprint was not founded first and foremost in order to solve the publishing problems of authentic and self-designated geniuses. It is much more earthbound--for financial reasons. In short, Masprint with its 13 staffers--from professional typist to graphic artist--is able to smooth the way for each manuscript's journey to the printing press. Or to be more precise, it would be able, if the Zalatnay book had not been their first "real" private publication.

"If we want to be even more accurate, this was not 'real,' either, in the sense that the advance publicity campaign would have meant a sure market not for 50,000 but 150,000 copies. The majority of authors start out with worse prospects than this and in most instances back off when they find out about the expenses," says Peter Fraunhoffer.

[Question] Who can have his book published privately?

[Answer] Anyone who has in his possession a publisher's waiver, an evaluation by two literary advisers--maybe even by a special consultant--and the Main Publishing Administration's final approval of private publication. Then the author comes to us, let us say. We inform him of the "sad fact" that if he does not want to come off a loser, then 20,000-30,000 copies should be issued. (For example, 40,000 copies of the just mentioned Zalatnay book "covered" the publishing costs.) The cost of printing this many copies runs to about 1-1.5 million forints. The printing office cannot operate "on tick." Therefore--out of the entire expenses--a deposit for the price of paper is requested.

[Question] Can the private publisher credit this sum to the author since, in the end, both come off well?

[Answer] Small enterprises better provided with capital than we are can afford to do it, and evidently do do it. We are not capable of this, and I do not believe that the Magveto Publishing House is in a position to lend Masprint a hand by taking out a bank loan. On the other hand, it is possible for the author to seek a backer in the person of an acquaintance or institution.

[Question] In the final analysis, what is the author left with after expensive private publishing?

[Answer] He will not get rich, but the majority are content if the undertaking "breaks even." The definitive account of the Zalutnay book has not been prepared yet, but the printing cost per copy was 16 forints, the distributor "rings up" almost as much, and finally, since the book is placed in the category of reading matter, a cultural surcharge of 25 fillers per page is owed to the Ministry of Culture. The latter amounts to nearly 200,000 forints.

[Question] Is the winner of the "contest" ultimately he who--amidst similarly talented authors--does a better job of managing the enterprise's money?

[Answer] Not entirely. Even though the majority of people are convinced that authors who resort to private publishing wrote about "unusual" things and therefore the state publishing houses did not undertake publication of their work, the truth is that often it is really not worthwhile for either the publishers or the distributors to assume the expenses and storage problems for these works; they would take away space from other books. The opposite can also occur, of course: the customer sees, for example, that the second edition of a book entitled "Szinlelni boldog szeretot" [To Play the Blissful Lover] is issued by a private company. This is not a criticism of the author but is merely indicative of the sad fact that unpublished manuscripts are piled "up to the ceiling" at the majority of publishing houses, and the latter simply cannot permit themselves to publish the same author again. Not because of loyalty to the enterprise, I claim that all readable literature of good quality is published here; only sometimes it takes a little while.

[Question] How is it possible that while the manuscripts of good books await publication, books published privately can end up on the streets in a matter of weeks?

[Answer] At most printing offices--due to the tardy delivery of a manuscript or some other reason--there are "hiatuses" that can be filled in with books which can be issued in smaller printings and perhaps on a quality of paper different from what was planned. Discovering these hiatuses is a matter of patiently making telephone calls and contacts.

[Question] You said just now that every good book is published. Tens of thousands of unsold volumes are preserved, however, in stores and book distributors' warehouses, and there is talk about the problems of stockpiling and storage. What kinds of books do the private publishers lack?

[Answer] They lack good detective novels, with which the private publishers cannot concern themselves because, I believe, what can be published in this field is thrust onto the market by the state publishing houses in order to "finance" their important but unprofitable volumes. There is an enormous shortage of good-quality informative books on health issues, which is strange because the works of Polish, Czech and GDR authors are at the present moment waiting in manuscript for permission to be published by the state publishing houses, at least...

[Question] The special line of Magveto is the publication of contemporary Hungarian literature, and the most successful historical reminiscences of recent years praise the painstaking selection. But can Masprint be fastidious about manuscripts, and does it have any notion--over and beyond enterprisal and incidental assignments--of developing its "own" special line?

[Answer] We would have a notion except that we have very little time and money to devote to organization. Countless institutes and enterprises publish special transactions and production guidebooks which should in principle bear the marks of an expert's hand. They do not know from experience whom they can turn to; and we do not always have enough spare people to offer our services at precisely the right moment. As far as our opportunities for picking and choosing are concerned, I already mentioned at the start of the conversation that only a handful of the authors who turn to us can shoulder the expenses of publishing a book. Logic would thus dictate that we leap at every obvious opportunity and manuscript. It may be that we are not true businessmen, but even in spite of this it happens that after reading a manuscript, we tactfully refuse to publish the book. In the last analysis, what the reader gets under the name of either Masprint or Magveto is not a matter of indifference...

12327

CSO: 2500/463

POLAND

# BOISTEROUS PRON MEETING ON ELECTION DECLARATION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jun 85 pp 1-2

/Article by Ryszarda Kazimierska: "On the Election Declaration of PRON. A Difficult Road Toward Unanimity"/

/Text/ (P) (Own service). The order of business for meeting of the National Council of PRON (patriotic Movement of National Renewal) foresaw the following: opening of deliberations (by Jan Dobraczynski), presentation of the project of PRON's election declaration (by Prof Josef Kukulka), debate, acceptance of the declaration and informing about the work of Executive Committee and of the Presidium of National Council of PRON (presented by general secretary Jerzy Jaskiernia).

Rumors circulated in the lobby that the debate may be a stormy one, that it may come to serious controversies and difference of opinions. However, it all began stereotypically, smoothly, as it often happens. Only later did a storm of its own kind erupt.

I will begin though from the beginning, and therefore from the presentation of the declaration by Prof Kukulka. He reminded that among many of postulates and conclusions included in the "position of the National Council of PRON on the issue of principles of the project of election regulation," "readiness to elaborate election declaration in wide consultation with various social groups" was announced. And so, in the election regulation passed by Sejm (Parliament) is found Art II, which discusses the fact that the Sejm elections are held according to the election declaration of PRON, which constitutes a foundation for an all-national debate on the crucial questions of development of the country and strengthening of the nation.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of PRON began its work on election declaration in April. A seven-member team was appointed which had been preparing the first draft of the declaration. The Presidium had considered the project of that document three times before it accepted the version submitted before the National Council last Thursday.

As said Prof Kukulka, the work on the project of the declaration had become complicated and prolonged for several reasons. Firstly, consultations with various social groups had to be carried out. Secondly, numerous differences of opinions were presented by representatives' signatories and mass members

of PRON. A change of opinions of those very same representatives also became apparent as time went on. Gradually though, opinions about the nature of the document being prepared began to crystallize. At last, the "declaration" was agreed upon or--as the speaker put it--a solemn declaration or a pronouncement of fundamental principles and intentions was agreed upon. It was agreed that it should not be a developed election program, but an appeal--an encouragement to a discussion about what one wants and can do for the country and its citizens. It was also at last agreed as to who should be the addressee of the declaration. Excluded from among the addressees of the version presented to the National Council are only those who do not recognize the values of the political system of the Polish nation, and who are their decided opponents.

Prof Kukulka thus concluded his presentation of the election declaration: "The text of PRON's election declaration elaborated after lengthy discussions corresponds to the requirements of Art II of election regulations. It can also serve well to popularize and implement the program accepted by the First Congress of PRON, and which will be verified and defined precisely in the course of pre-election debates, of which our movement will be the main motivator. The declaration has been expressed in a maximally condensed form, enabling it even to be posted. Almost every word of it contains substance worthy of interest and discussion. There are no great empty promises in it, yet there is in it a compact set of ideas and goals which can unite our fellow countrymen. The declaration is characterized by realism and constructivism, and at the same time by calm appositeness and openness. All milieu and social groups will find in it ideas which they can successfully develop in pre-election debate...."

After such a dictum and after the first remarks of the discussion the statement of Andrzej Przykowski from Jedrzejow was a sharp creak. It made note of such descriptions as: "Chaoticness of form, mix up of programmatic elements with elements of the appeal to the society, a great deal of verbosity." Zofia Bystrzycka added: "This text will not encourage anyone to read it. It is too long, we may save ourselves the use of easiest, most banal slogans." From the flood of numerous pronouncements I have recorded the words of Stanislaw Wronski: "We will not radically alter the moods with this text, it is also not a text which will suddenly excite millions about the elections. Nevertheless--it is modest, with carefully weighed words, making no promises, honest, it can get through to people who think," after which he proposed a "rectification" of the document, elimination of pompous words, as well as a change of its construction. Andrzej Sopocko in turn ascertained: "I have mixed feelings reading this text. I find the substance of its content suitable, but the form essentially requires substantial corrections. The present period should not abound with any euphemisms, every formulation must contribute substantial informative value. Let us maintain the declaration in an apposite climate.... We will not solve anything through word-spells." Anna Przeclawska, on the other hand, stated that there are too many emotional elements in the declaration, slogan-like formulations. There are also such formulations in it which should be removed because they may be misunderstood and may unnecessarily irritate.

After several hours of discussion, when it appeared that it would still continue, chairman of the resolutions and motions commission, Zdzislaw Pilecki, requested permission to speak. He stated that the commission has found itself in a very



difficult situation and that the work on the final form of the declaration will be lengthy and intensive. The political substance of the document was not undermined during the discussion, but many comments were made which the commission accepts, recognizing them as valuable and enriching of the document being prepared. He proposed that the National Council accept the presented document which will be supplemented and edited according to the submitted comments.

In regard to this matter Anna Przeclawska requested permission to speak. She said that she has doubts and that she thinks the council should not accept the motion made by the chairman of the commission. The importance and meaning of this document is too great, not only its substance but its form as well require extensive corrections. And thus--she asked--can the National Council decree a declaration which is not in its final version?

Jerzy Kielb came forward with a rejoinder, reminding that the National Council unanimously elected the composition of the resolution and motion commission at the beginning of the deliberations. And thus these are the people--he said--in whom we have put our trust. There are no manipulators in that group. No one has questioned in the discussion the political structure of the declaration; its nucleus has not been undermined by one sentence. Now the point is the form, the most acceptable shape of the election declaration, which we will present to the society. We will not be able to edit anything in a group of some 300 people, and the chairman of the commission did announce that it will take a fair stand toward every comment.

Someone in the room added that there is no time for extending the work on the declaration and for another assembling of the National Council. The election calendar is already in effect. Local activists await the declaration. Walentyn Milenuszkin proposed that a vote be taken on the motion of the commission's chairman. Jan Dobraczynski compiled with this motion--and thus the vote was ordered. With 13 votes against and several abstentions the National Council accepted the not final text of the declaration. Now, the resolution and motion commission will polish the text, and it will be ratified by the Presidium of the National Council of PRON. But we will become familiar with the text of PRON's election declaration in a few days, at the beginning of July.

The conclusion drawn from the deliberations of the National Council of PRON can only be one: difficult is the road to unanimity. It is difficult today to prepare a document which would satisfy everyone.

Ryszarda Kazimierska

P.S. As it is apparent from the report presented above--the discussion at the meeting of National Council of PRON pertained to the Election Declaration of PRON, and not election regulation, as we have informed in the Thursday issue of ZYCIE. Election regulation was passed by Sejm on 29 May.

12916

CSO: 2600/895

POLAND

DEPUTY AIR FORCE COMMANDER DISCUSSES NEW TRAINING METHODS

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in  
Polish No 6, Jun 85 pp 5-11

[Interview with the Deputy Commander of the Line Air Force, Brigadier General  
Michal Polech, by PRZEGLAD correspondent, Colonel Kazimierz Stec: "Is  
There Anything New in Air Force Training?"; date and place not given]

[Text] The editors asked the deputy commander of the Line  
Air Force, Brigadier General Michal Polech, for an interview  
on this subject.

"We have to train the pilot in such a manner that he  
is able to execute every combat mission assigned to him  
and not permit himself to be shot down." - BG Michal  
Polech

[Question] The demands with regard to combat aircraft pilots are currently  
enormous and continue to grow; perhaps they already exceed the genuine  
capabilities of a man....

[Answer] Considering developments in flight technology, it is fair to speak  
about the genuinely enormous demands being made on the people who now fly  
combat aircraft. Some pilots, and I emphasize some, are intimating that  
these demands now exceed a man's abilities. I personally believe that  
this judgement is erroneous and proceeds from the fact that these pilots  
do not pay enough attention to their personal preparation before their  
flights so as to execute their specific missions. I believe that a man  
is capable of mastering and properly utilizing every invention produced  
through the efforts of another man. This applies totally to the builder  
of flight--the pilot. That some pilots are overwhelmed by the new technology  
is the result that old-fashioned ideas are being passed, for some reason  
or another, to our young people (and surprisingly accepted by them) from  
the time when our older generations were flying aircraft. This first piece  
of flight "wisdom", as it turns out, can be very disarming to some; it  
prevents them from freeing themselves from absolute canons and believing  
in the reliable equipment of our aircraft which do not differ in parameters  
and analogous instruments found in the aircraft of our probable enemies.

I suspect that the source of this "beyond-my-abilities" attitude on the  
part of some pilots is their own poor familiarity with these instruments.

They are insufficiently "strong" in theory and, what is worse, they do not persistently strive to master it, but "throw up their hands" and declare that it all exceeds a man's abilities. It should not be this way. As a result, we level special demands on these pilots. Through various ways and methods, we are able to help them. We have had success in many cases. I want to state categorically that there are only a very few pilots on whom we are leveling these demands; again, these pilots are few and far between. A decisive majority of our pilots is made up of people with the highest personal values; they are involved, love their profession and have expertly mastered the combat equipment entrusted to them. They are our pride and joy. They can swiftly master any new type of aircraft and execute their aerial missions quite well. They remain within all flight parameters in an exemplary manner by maintaining their bearings completely; they can quickly identify targets and execute an energetic maneuver and skillful attack. We are totally justified in saying that a great deal can be said and written about such pilots. We should continue to do so.

[Question] Some pilots, however, pay too little attention to tactics. After all, military pilots train so that they are able to perform their combat missions, that is, know how to fly well in a specific type of aircraft under any "aerial" conditions, day and night, and be able to deal effectively with an enemy by using their weapons and avoiding his countermeasures. Above all, they must be able to destroy an enemy and come out of the fight alive....

[Answer] Previous wars in the world show that those pilots survived who were exceptionally well trained, but not for show at the range, as some pilots believe, but for combat with a specific enemy. Demonstrations at the range, and specifically in front of a superior's tribunal, do not always have anything in common with the actual tactics of aerial activity. Under these conditions, aircraft crews often forget about following fundamental tactical-technical flight parameters and the necessary maneuver required in combat situations. Aircrews and the demonstration's organizers can well imagine and do know what may be pleasing to those watching from a tribunal and get them a high score. They are only people and are demonstrating their actions for the purpose of receiving a good grade. They know, however, that it would not be possible to act so under actual combat conditions, inasmuch as those "forced" maneuvers for show exclude the opportunity of effectively utilizing the shock effects of their weapons assets. I believe that this is an ominous and extremely dangerous development. The crews of those aircraft not only fail to learn how to maneuver properly under combat conditions, but learn and acquire habits which in war will lead to mission failure.

Fortunately, there are few such "demonstration" of combat operations by the air force; after all, they do not reflect the degree of combat training of our forces. All pilots know quite well that a pilot's training is made up of many components which can be properly evaluated only at the range. All the wealth of a pilot's initiative, including his combat training, show, even before his takeoff from the airfield, the selection of a proper flight route (the avoidance of hostile detection zones, the enemy's fire

positions and antiaircraft defense), as well as the pilot's flight plan and optimum flight approach; he knows how to maneuver before a target, identify it, recognize and plan an effective attack, i.e., plan such an attack in which his weapons assets will prove effective and destroy the target. In other words, the pilot has to create conditions for himself so that he can effectively utilize his weapons assets. Otherwise, such conditions do not exist during one of these flights for show at the range where the decisive element of a score is a low flight and "lots of noise."

As a result, I do not totally agree with the statement that some pilots pay much too little attention to tactics. If there are such cases then we have to fault the organizers of pilot training and the various leadership levels. And if we fault them, then it is because any pilot participates much too often in demonstration flights and does not train for combat; he does not consider fully the parameters of his weapons systems and also loses whatever level of tactical training he may already have had.

[Question] Who then is responsible for the number of such unproductive demonstration flights?

[Answer] This is a very difficult issue. We understand that sometimes we have to "play up" the action of the air force on the battlefield so that exercising ground forces may practice the training element of antiaircraft defense. We also have to practice successfully genuine coordination with these forces. These are obvious issues and arouse no doubts. A problem arises only then when there are relatively too many such demands for demonstration flights placed on several units. I must admit, however, that we had times when there was a large number of service flights for the benefit of other branches of the armed forces and troops; these, unfortunately, were of no training value either to the pilots, or to the others. The extensively accepted interest of the Air Force demands that such demonstrations be as few as possible and real training take place as much as possible. I can state that we realize this course of action, the more so since we often will process from scratch the documents dealing with the norms. When we set out norms, we devote a great deal more space to initiative and tactics than is called for by our regulations.

There was a time, and I believe that it was then necessary, when we formalized almost everything. Every issue, question or problem of flight training organization was sanctioned and developed by specific regulations. We multiplied such regulations and issued so many safety guidelines that, without knowing it, we had deprived our well-trained pilots to a considerable extent of their creative initiative. We now perceive a resulting shortcoming and are restoring in a newly developed program of flights the proper proportions of instructions and order, laws and requirements with regard to individual command levels. They think that the guiding star of new documents dealing with norms is the creation of such legal conditions in which well trained pilots will be able to utilize totally the combat capabilities of any type of aircraft under its own prescribed flight conditions.

[Question] This means that pilots will be free to perform legally those maneuvers which some of them could only perform in secret up until now?

[Answer] Yes, the new regulations give the pilots greater independence, they permit them to demonstrate individual combat expertise, something obvious from the standpoint of flight safety. They facilitate fixing and specifying personal professional goals for the pilots. Beyond all of this, the commanders of units and flight wings will play a small role as organizers of flight training. We intend to increase considerably a pilot's responsibility for his personal preparations for each flight. It will be the commanders' task to rigorously supervise this preparation. These commanders will have the duty to carefully inspect the preparations taken to execute missions and not to permit those to go whose state of training differs from applicable theoretical requirements.

We raised this issue recently at a briefing with the training directors of the flight units. We are planning to implement this system in daily training from the beginning of the new training year.

I would also like to add that we already have some experience in this matter. Last year, we recommended to the training institution in Dublin that it should move more courageously in permitting the officer cadets to implement their own individual pilot training programs. From now on, officer cadets, who demonstrate a great aptitude for flying, do not have to wait after the completion of their three-week or three-month assignments (by having to pull other duties like guard duty) until their colleagues, who are having problems with their own flight training programs, reach their level. This means, we have dropped the principle of equality. As a result, 20 officer cadets have reached pilot, 2nd class, already in their third year, and in their fourth year they will implement the second class program. This is a significant gain, primarily against the air force's combat readiness and economized resources. Furthermore, this encourages the remaining cadets to do better. I believe that this system will be implemented and become a permanent plan for action, something which will shorten considerably the time it takes to achieve all the qualifications of a combat pilot in a line unit.

[Question] Perhaps, General, you could elaborate on what the qualifications of a combat pilot are? What does it mean to be the pilot of a modern combat aircraft?

[Answer] We are talking here primarily about a man who has a great deal of theoretical knowledge, knows well his own equipment and can utilize it under any conditions he is put in; he is able to take advantage of all the maneuver and fire support opportunities afforded by his aircraft while in combat, day and night; he also knows well how the probable enemy will act in the air (mainly his flight and air defense measures); and, finally, he is able to combat the enemy effectively or avoid his countermeasures if necessary.

Additionally, he differs in other essential characteristics, beginning with a love of fatherland and ending with the classical traits in the nature of the ordinary, courageous soldier. We train such pilots and our current pilots are such individuals in an overwhelming majority. They achieve

this through the exercises and the professional and expert studies we provide them.

[Question] It is for this reason, Comrade General, that you are satisfied with the current results of flight personnel training?

[Answer] Yes, we have good reasons to be satisfied. I feel, however, that you did not come here to hear about our successes....

PRZEGLAD has a somewhat different assignment and for this reason I will speak about what worries us and about what needs to be corrected and improved. We have many such needs in every area of our activity.

Sometimes, in the combat training of pilots we face various objective limitations, but there are also subjective ones as well. Poland is a small country for pilots who fly in combat aircraft. This forces them to fly not in accordance with the requirements of tactics or even with the requirements of navigational training. We have incidents where the pilots have been flying the same routes for many years now. In my opinion, this does more harm than good. It turns out that the planner prepares for strong training flights, but gets only average results in the end. At a glance, they are trivial measures, but they lead up to very important events, particularly with regard to training. Generally speaking, these flights are like marching in place, i.e., they hold a few pilots back in their professional development. I call it wasteful flying but keep silent about the problem and its costs.

I think that we have to restrict this kind of combat aircraft flying to a minimum. Every flight of a trained pilot should take place with some kind of new mission and bring him some specific advantages other than just those of simple pilot training flights. We are making efforts for this to be the case force-wide. While working out a new manual of Flight Regulations, we have been coordinating with our comrades in the Home Air Defense Forces over every issue associated with this.

Changes have also occurred with regard to combat flights. Until recently, it was the case in many instances that pilots knew beforehand, during their preparations for a flight to the range, what targets they would be attacking the next day. If it were a group flight, every pilot would know in advance which target was his to fire at; incidentally, it is a target well known and often observed. The pilot's role in such a flight is reduced basically to giving commands to open fire; there was often no real group command, target search, its identification, or the allocation of weapons assets against the targets to be destroyed. There was also a flight director at the range who often assisted the flight crews from the ground.

We have not realized this training and have approximated the conditions of the battlefield as much as possible here in the line units. We will continue further along in this direction. In my opinion, if the pilots are flying combat mission, they should have to learn to deal without a flight director at the range or even in the identification zone. On the other hand, the flight director at the range is indispensable while the

young pilots are in training. The flight director's responsibility at the range should also be modified to a certain extent. He should not have to answer for the errors committed by a trained pilot to the same extent as he has been answering up until now.

Another thing. Experience has taught us that we should move away somewhat from group flights at the range because the groups contain pilots with extremely various levels of combat training. The benefits of such flights are minimal; a well trained pilot, who is leading, is afraid to act aggressively because he might "lose" his young, less experienced follower. The trainee, in turn, holds on to the leader for dear life, without any regard for what is happening around him in the air or on the ground. It seems that in some situations, greater benefits are enjoyed if the senior pilot can go off totally on his own, and the trainee pilot can act alone, creatively and full of emotion. Of course, this does not apply to the first few flights of a trainee and other pretenders.

In taking a critical look at combat training, I see the need to recall on a major scale the graduate pilots of the General Staff Academy. Some of them, after they have left their schools, all too quickly settle into their jobs and lose contact with the thinking and actions of their other colleagues. I believe that they contribute too little creative or tactically inspired enthusiasm; I hardly see them as inspirations capable of new ideas in combat training. I emphasize that this applies only to some graduates of the General Staff Academy. I mention them only because the country has invested a great deal of money in their education and cannot sit by and tolerate their inaction, even on an individual basis. I must say, however, that the majority of "academicians" conduct themselves excellently, they include comrades: Edward Hyra, Roman Harmoza, Janusz Konieczny, Jan Pliszczyński, Marian Jagusiak and Waldemar Szlachta.

[Question] There is a view prevalent that pilot training must be closely coordinated and has to regard every methodological and didactic law. Otherwise the pilot is trained from A to Z by his superiors; he does only and exclusively that which is planned for him. Some affirm that the pilot has no influence on his individual training program in the air. Is that the way it really is?

[Answer] There can be no element or any "partisan" in flight training. Iron rules with regard to methodology and didactics have to prevail. A flight in the air today in a modern combat aircraft is something totally different from what it was several dozen years ago. It is a pity that everyone does not wish to understand this. Modern flight is ahead on many planes; it is a precisely implemented chain of theoretical and organizational ventures. They are costly and time-consuming efforts. For this reason, it is true to a certain extent that the pilot is trained by a team of people, large team at that, in the sense of well thought out and tried methodological laws. On the other hand, who can train a pilot from A to Z? If it looks like this somewhere then it is a distortion which needs to be combatted.

A pilot at a flight facility is a privileged person. This goes without saying. However, he has many duties. He is responsible for his personal

theoretical preparation, his intellectual efficiency and physical vigor; he is a professional soldier. His most important obligation is the step-by-step realization of his combat training program. This program is not and cannot be something unchanging. Normal logic and regulations give it life. The pilot has (and should have) a decisive influence on his course of flight training, both in its planning and in its implementation. The pilot's obligation is to participate in these efforts. If he feels that he is weaker in a particular element of study and needs more flights than envisioned by his program, he should report this to his superior and request a change in the plan. The same should occur when an officer notices that a pilot can get by with only two flights (instead of three) as he masters a given exercise; he has the right to make the applicable decision in this case. This is the daily reality of our flight training and it should be this way.

[Question] For a certain time now, the system of pilot and tactical training of flight personnel is being modernized and perfected. This was stated already twice in the columns of PRZEGLAD by the commander of the Air Force. However, in some units theoretical courses, necessary for first and third class pilots, continue to be conducted in accordance with a uniform program and in the same groups.

[Answer] There can be no stagnation in flight training, inasmuch as new technology and weapons with considerably greater combat capabilities, which will cause changes in the principles of operation, including training, are being introduced in the Air Force. This process is ongoing and will continue to go on as long as there will be air forces. But there can be no radical changes in flight training as it is conducted from day to day. Changes must be smooth; they have to take into consideration the current organizational status and habits of the people involved. We are trying to eliminate the instances of joint theoretical training for 1st and 2nd class pilots. I am convinced that a considerable portion of the theoretical training programs for these groups of pilots should be varied, even though I do not exclude any objectives for conducting classes (on specific subjects) for all the personnel of a flight regiment. I will add that other specialists, e.g., point navigators, should participate in some group classes and lessons for pilots. It seems that we have to approach theoretical training in flight units reasonably. We have to first see the training objectives, understand them and consider their ultimate effects overall. Generally speaking, this objective has to have the help of daily practice, i.e., done on a daily basis. Training has to be so organized and conducted that it brings real benefits to the largest possible group of specialists. We have to eradicate permanently "theory for theory's sake", formalism and the race for "statistics" which are useless to everyone.

The current phase of training modernization in the flight regiments has the objective of creating such structures and mechanisms in which the important thing will be not the number of lessons or classes conducted, but the knowledge and know-how necessary for the execution of assigned missions. The implementation of this system requires the development of many new documents to cover the norms. This, unfortunately, will take time.



[Question] One last question. In recent years, unit flight personnel have willingly competed for the honorary title of "Pilot of the Year." Competition for the title of "Expert of Tactical and Target Fire" has also been organized. (In the Home Air Defense Forces the title is "Master of Aerial Combat.") Such undertakings permit the determination of a very small select group of the best pilots who are victorious, sometimes only because of a few points. The losers are deprived of professional satisfaction, even though they have earned it. There are at least a few of such genuine experts in target fire and model operational tactics in every flight regiment, but they must wait years for their honor. The intent of my question is: Do you envision a revival of any form of mass (individual and collective) competition or in which the decisive element will be combat experience, i.e., the ability to open and maintain target fire, show wise tactics, familiarity with the enemy, innovation, etc.; such titles could include: "A Crack Crew," "Flight Ace," or "Sniper" (as in the Soviet Air Force)? Perhaps there could be a title for wings, squadrons or even regiments?

[Answer] The problem has been in the field of vision of the Air Force's command for years now. We will attempt to develop competition not only among pilots, but also within and between crews and other teams of flight specialists. "Pilot of the Year" has been actualized. The idea has been successful and is bringing a great deal of benefits. The pilots value this honorific title and they compete for it with the results of their professional accomplishments, discipline and social activities. The greatest value of this measure is that the pilots themselves count up the points and always watch the chances of their colleagues. They also decide who will be selected "Pilot of the Year" in the flight unit. From this perspective, we are trying to maintain this form of competition and have associated great prestige with it.

Similarly, there is the issue of selecting tactical and target fire experts. And even though these are measures, the objective of which is the evocation of individual champions, we are realizing through them the substantial training of entire aircrews. After all, there are such pilots in every regiment; they have the conditions for winning the title "Pilot of the Year." And because we are dealing here with people, we should give up the idea that any of the competition is "rigged" for other winners. This idea is inconceivable. At the same time, a large number of pilots participate every year in this competition. It seems that there is no problem with the number of pilots competing for the championship at the detachment level of the Air Force. I see the problem somewhere else, namely in the creation of expert combat crews and this is not really a problem. After all, the current struggle is a gigantic team effort. Therefore, I agree with the statement that we need advanced crews capable of executing expertly whatever combat missions they are assigned. A single pilot honored with the title of the best is too little. It seems that the commander of every regiment should have at least a detachment with such expert training. It should have a combat crew ready "for anything", i.e., be ready to execute the most difficult missions. There should be a squadron at division level, and the Air Force overall should have its own special regiment. Such a structure of crew competition is profoundly sensible also from the perspective of

combat readiness. I believe that team competition in the Air Force will also be modified in the near future. In addition to individual experts, we will also have expert crews.

[Comment] Thank you for the interview, General.

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POLAND

EMIGRE WORK ON 'UNDERGROUND SOLIDARITY' EXCERPTED, DERIDED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 26, 29 Jun 85 pp 1, 4-8

[Article by Kazimierz Kozniewski]

[Text] [Part I] A peculiar book this. Not only because its place of publication is listed as "64 av Jean Moulin 75014 Paris," even though the printing technique betrays at first glance the fact that it is a samizdat published in Poland. The content of this book is also peculiar. Its authors are Maciej Lopinski, Marcin Moskit and Mariusz Wilk. The title: "Konspira--rzecz o podziemnej Solidarnosci" (Konspira--A Story of Underground Solidarity). Year of publication--1984; number of pages--200. There has probably never been in world history an illegal, underground organization which would so openly present itself to the public, giving real names--not the names of the three authors, or editors to be more exact, but of those who express their opinions in this book, namely the underground Solidarity leaders. Since no other but this book received the 1985 Solidarity literary award we can presume that it accurately portrays their position and that it is neither a pastiche nor a lampoon, neither aprocryphal nor a falszywka [fabrication] (These people seem to have developed a jargon of their own; they don't say konspiracja [conspiracy] but konspira which is an ugly word intended to underscore their singular mettle and their youthful style. They don't say falszerstwo [fabrication] but falszywka; they don't say komunisci [communists] but komuchy. We can thus believe the editors when they claim that everything printed in Konspira had been authorized by the underground Solidarity leadership.

The book was divided into thirteen chapters devoted to different stages of that organization's development--beginning with the eve of December 13, 1981. It is composed of typescript statements, reports and even confessions by Solidarity leaders Bogdan Borusewicz, Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk, Aleksander Hall, Tadeusz Jedynak, Bogdan Lis and Eugeniusz Szumiejko. A representative group indeed! Their statements, cut into smaller fragments, arranged according to subjects and supplemented with the three editors' narrative, produce a picture of underground Solidarity, its various actions, aspects and aims.

Since the source is more than reliable, we want to present excerpts from this book to the readers of Polityka. We can be accused of making a tendentious selection of those excerpts, of course. Yes, our selection is tendentious. The book is a description of political actions and struggle; its authors consider it an instrument of political activity and so, on the same grounds, do we. The choice we have made presents, we think, the best picture of our political enemies, for it is in their own words.

Bogdan Borusewicz:

(...) It's even difficult to imagine what was happening in the Gdansk MKZ (Founding Committee), at least in the beginning. I used to come home at night, eat anything, fall into bed and go back to work in the morning. But that was not the most important reason why I concluded that struggling further was senseless. I simply started to notice how the people who had once been friends were changing, how they were taken over by ambition and position and how modest and helpful friends were becoming bosses ready to destroy their opponents. I came to realize suddenly that success did not necessarily make a person better, and that the social and national success of that movement was ceasing to be my success. I felt worse and worse, but perhaps that was because of my over-sensitivity.

Unfortunately, one more thing was happening. The movement was developing all the negative features of the system, namely lack of tolerance for the people who thought and acted differently, suppression of criticism and primitive chauvinism. I cannot imagine a situation where a man would stand up during elections of Solidarity authorities and proclaim "I don't believe in God." There were different people among the candidates, Catholics and atheists, but all of them were holding the cross up high. There wasn't a single one who would say "I won't take this oath because I am a non-believer. If you want, elect me. If you don't, do not."

The cult of leadership was flourishing. First, there was Walesa, the big leader who could not be criticized, and then there were voivodship leaders and leaders in almost all enterprises. Worse than that, just like Fromm said in his "Escape from Freedom," the people wanted to get rid of their freedom and hand it over to those beaming authorities. Is there any other explanation for the situation where at a regional meeting someone takes the floor and states that the electors committed themselves to support everything coming from Walesa, but to vote against everything from Gwiazda? Many times I had the impression that I was seeing theater of the absurd. Such a situation would have been impossible even at the Party congress.

As I said, lack of tolerance went hand-in-hand with chauvinism. A wing was formed within Solidarity which could be compared only with Grunwald or Rzeczywistosc, with only one difference--the attitude toward communism. The "True Poles" from Solidarity also advocated totalitarian ideology, only its color wasn't red. Surprisingly, this wing gained considerable influence among workers. On the other hand, the so-called liberal group, whose core was formed from the old opposition, was pushed outside Solidarity by Party propaganda, the "True Poles" and by the Church hierarchy which preferred the totalitarian group within Solidarity.

I was struggling for a long time until I decided that if society preferred to go in an absolutely different direction than it should, then why should I try to stop it. The movement developed its own dynamics and, in spite of this being against logic, it was becoming increasingly radical (but only in words). At one moment, the democratically elected leaders lost contact with reality. And reality meant not only Solidarity, unofficial newsletters and Radio Free Europe but also the Soviet Union, the army and security forces which, as we knew, were preparing lists of the future internees already in the autumn of 1980. What surprised me indeed was the fact that Kuron--whom I had always known as pragmatist--and Modzelewski also lost the sense of reality. General chaos followed. The people ceased to think in terms of politics and began to practice mysticism, they believed that any word they said would become flesh, that when we said 'give us power' the power would all at once be in our hands. Of course, the leaders found themselves under great public pressure, but this does not justify their actions because the role of a leader is to think, to foresee and even, if need be, to swim against the current. There were two possibilities; either to talk loudly and simultaneously prepare for a possible confrontation, or to remain silent. (...)

These faults were accompanied by what, in my opinion, was a disastrous personnel policy in selecting the national and regional authorities. I say selecting, not electing, since the selection was done by one and the same man, a fact which, admittedly, was democratically accepted by the majority. His criterion for selection was such: 'This one won't break out.' And those who don't break out are usually the people who either don't have their own opinion or lack civil courage to express it. In the extreme situation of December 13, 1981, this fact boomeranged against the whole union. (...)

Bogdan Lis:

(...) I believe that Solidarity's main weakness, particularly at the end of 1981, was the buffoonery of its leaders, which frequently began as low as at the factory level. This perhaps wasn't true of everybody, but the initiative was taken by those who could speak loudly and thump the table at the right moment. We lacked experience which would allow for the democratic exercise of power. In Gdansk there were two competing factions, or two programs, to be more exact.

Neither one was faultless but the second program, which eventually lost the competition, was probably better since it envisaged democratic forms of monitoring the authorities, including the union's authorities, and it proposed actions about which we had talked in August and even earlier. The mistakes in these programs derived from the fact that they were drafted in conditions of acute struggle, overshadowing the constructive proposals of both Walesa and Gwiazda.

I hope that society now sees how many of the hotheads behave today, the hotheads who either emigrated from Poland or signed declarations of loyalty, or simply tucked themselves up into a quiet ball. Thinking about the future we must learn to listen to arguments rather than to shouts.

The union's other weakness was its incorrect personnel selection, which was particularly striking in the Gdansk region. Eighty percent of employees of the Gdansk executive (most of whom also worked for the National Commission), were selected according to the wrong criteria. During the initial period, employing people only because they could be trusted seemed justified, but later a definite personnel policy was necessary. Since most of the personnel lacked the necessary qualifications and work was organized badly, the whole bureaucratic apparatus appeared incapable of any action and the presidium clearly didn't want to approach this problem comprehensively. In addition, there was a shop-floor commission within the executive committee itself, and it was fighting viciously.

Zbigniew Bujak:

(...) During the first six months of martial law we used to spend some 700,000 zloty a month. Later these sums increased considerably because the number of things we had to finance, the people we had to support and the number of initiatives and organizations multiplied. Inter-regional contacts alone cost us around 80,000 zloty a month and besides, we needed the money for publishing, for the press and special operations. We are subsidizing, for instance, Tygodnik Mazowsze (from employees' wages) although it receives many contributions from readers. The biggest sums come from the private sector. In addition, we are financing the Regional Executive Commission's office, the groups distributing leaflets and the order and dispatch departments. The public demands from us spectacular actions, and they are terribly expensive. Once we had a transmitter and a loudspeaker planted at a cemetery.

They played what there was to play and the whole operation was over. Taking all preparations into account, the expenditure was incompatible with the effects. After August 31, 1982 we spent half a million zloty on misdemeanor courts in fines, and any well organized campaign involving our employees costs almost as much. Of course, apart from the zlotys, we also receive considerable financial support from abroad but we don't use that money very often. (...)

Strong differences of opinion which--as was said before--determined the organization of individual regions, were present in the underground's tactics and strategy from the beginning.

The concept of underground society was formulated in Warsaw by Zbigniew Bujak and Wiktor Kulerski as an alternative to Jacek Kuron's proposals contained in "Tezy o wyjściu z sytuacji bez wyjścia" [Proposals of Ways Out Of The Situation Without Ways Out] (February 1982). Kuron called for, among other things, preparing Polish society for liberating itself from the occupation through a general uprising, which, according to Bujak, was an inadmissible risk.

Kuron's proposal did somewhat correspond to the public mood since it envisaged a quick confrontation, and, as could be presumed, knocking down

the enemy. The main idea of his text reads "if you don't want a war, get ready for a war." This idea, as well as the other "ways out" he proposed, suggested that the final struggle should be waged.

Any short-term action leaves no room for programmatic arguments; they resemble a game of poker where you don't know who is bluffing or how. You don't know what cards the enemy has and what surprise he has ready for you. I like gambling myself, but not when it involves human lives. Unfortunately, I was forced to play this game against my own will and the only thing I can do is not bluff, especially since I don't even know how strong my cards are...

Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk:

(...) Unfortunately, people keep thinking the way they did during the memorable 16 months. According to them the National Commission should grip the communists by the throat, but God forbid this should lead to imitating an American film or an entertainment show on television or staining the carpets of private homes with blood flowing from the party committees. Even now the people are waiting. There is Bujak, everybody knows him, all Poland knows him, the world knows him, so let this Bujak tell us how to make a gun, how to build barricades and how many people should line up around factory walls. Perhaps this is grumbling, but I can imagine what would happen. A strike breaks out and workers stroll around a plant wondering if they should take the red-and-white arm bands or not. Oh, here comes the boss of the strike committee, so let's ask him. But there will be no time for such deliberations. (...)

Won't society get weary and wonder why the hell we organized the underground if the period of waiting continues for so long? Won't the people feel numb like a boxer after a fight who took so many blows and became so tired trying to evade them that his head is bursting?

The second question is are we capable of surviving for a long time as members of an underground organization, i.e. can we resist arrests and infiltration without losing the ability to act? My answer is positive, since I think that it is unimportant if I survive. What matters is if we survive. If they arrest me, Bednarz will come; if they arrest him, Pinior will take over; if he is arrested, a Kowalski will come. If we manage to organize the factory-level structure we will doubtlessly survive.

If we don't manage to prepare ourselves, and if the political situation is unfavorable for us, we should look for solutions in 1983. I believe that we have strong trumps: August 1981, the sixteen months of freedom and the desire to struggle under martial law. (...)

In addition to those two leading concepts, which both had their sub-variants, there was also a third one. Perhaps it wasn't clearly and comprehensively articulated, but nevertheless it was strongly condemned by the enemy. According to Frasyuniuk this was a concept of an uprising, (We take to the streets and stand there; complete improvisation follows.

We struggle, many people are killed but even if, which is quite probable, we lose just as in the January Uprising, we can always refer to the victims and the blood that was shed to consolidate us and push us onward to further struggle) a concept of a suicidal struggle which, fortunately, had no chance of being taken seriously at the time. (...)

Zbigniew Bujak:

(...) Out of our task forces the youngest and the largest, composed mainly of students, is the one distributing leaflets. For some unknown reason, groups composed of workers have not passed the test in this respect. During the best period it was possible to find 500 people for a single operation of distributing leaflets, but later, only some 70 people remained. However, these are the people ready to act anywhere, even under the militia's nose. They have mastered sixteen or seventeen distribution methods of which the funniest one, the so-called coalmouse method, is possible only in the winter. A package which is made in such a way that pieces of pork fat are placed under the thread is simply hung somewhere. A coalmouse comes, pecks the pork and the leaflets pour out through the hole thus made.

At the beginning of the "war" a group of ten or so people came to us from one factory and told us that they wanted to carry out an assignment, but didn't care for petty tasks. They wanted only...something serious. "Fine," our people said, "but would you blow up a radio jammer?" "Ah, yes, that's it," they replied. "But first you have to learn how explosives and detonators work and learn to control your nerves. So perhaps you should first try to scatter some leaflets with the use of explosives--catapults are like toy bombs. When you've done a few stunts like this we'll know that you can do it." They agreed.

They took the equipment and left. On the next day observers informed us that there had been no operation, so we summoned these people and asked them, "Why didn't you scatter the leaflets?" They replied, "But we did." We said, "That's not true, our men checked on you." To which they replied, "Well, we did scatter them, but only in Wolomin, for too many policemen were patrolling the streets in Warsaw." (...)

Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk:

The cooperation between the underground Solidarity and the Metropolitan Curia in Lower Silesia was going well from the very start. Perhaps this was so because both sides recognized each other's independence and different positions. The clergy helped a lot, they even hid people and received special transports. Frasyuniuk stresses the immense importance of Archbishop Gulbinowicz's farsighted and wise policy for the later developments.

Long before December 1981 he took care to maintain the right proportions in our cooperation: neither Solidarity had been using the Church for its own ends in any way nor the other way around. We're now reaping the benefits. But things aren't looking so reasonable all over the country;



anyway, there are even rifts between the top and the bottom of the Church hierarchy. Parish priests are much more radical, though the Episcopate isn't all at one, either. Some bishops think that they should firmly stand by society, while others believe that the situation is hopeless and you should save whatever can still be saved. (...)

Bogdan Borusewicz:

The underground Solidarity is much more secular than the Solidarity which existed before December 13, 1981, and not even because of the presence of old-time oppositionists. According to Borusewicz, elements of anti-clericalism could be discovered also among shop-floor activists, some of whom even refuse to understand that certain things have to be passed over in silence and some gestures have to be made for tactical reasons.

I'm not really using the word "anti-clericalism" in its correct sense here, for these are in fact just unfriendly feelings towards Primate Glemp. Everyone appreciates the active attitude and support of the lower clergy, but Glemp is the head of the Polish Church, so his attitude is very important in our perception of the clergy as a whole. Priests themselves are critical of the Primate's statements; some even refuse to mention his name altogether. Apparently the Primate thinks that Solidarity is gone and buried and it doesn't make sense to return to this problem. Nevertheless, real demonstrations of support for Solidarity are taking place in hundreds of churches all the time. (...)

(...) The university milieu received the Independent Students Association [NZS] like a godsend. Suddenly students found themselves in a wonderful situation: they had freedom, could do what they wanted, could influence rectors, senates and deans, found their own organization, quit the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and continue going on foreign trips organized for students. They had everything served to them on a silver platter without fight or risk, so it's no wonder that they didn't know what to do with this gift. (...)

It's absurd to claim that we don't support students. It's equally absurd to charge that we don't give them paper, ink or money. If someone wants to do something, he'll do it and won't be after money. But anyway, you don't really need a lot of money to do it. You can even tear paper out of copybooks. If a guy comes to me and says: "I'll do the printing, but I must have a new Western-made duplicating machine, original stencils and at least 50,000 zloty to start with," I will give him nothing, absolutely nothing. I've already been duped by some such guys. It's a different story if a man comes who's already achieved something and who is efficient organizationally (knows how to obtain paper), intellectually (can write) and physically (can endure many hours of rolling). Everyone will be happy to help such a man. (...)

Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk:

(...) There's also the other side of the coin--the search for privacy. Many people prefer to live on their own, without landlords. They'll cook, wash up and do the cleaning themselves, anything to avoid being squeezed into the rigid schedule: 4 P.M.--the landlord comes home after work, dinner and after-dinner blah-blah, 7 P.M.--children's goodnight program on TV, then tea and stereotyped comments on TV news.

Cliches, cliches. But those who engage in clandestine activity (myself included) also use some kind of an underground slang, expressions such as "go to earth," "a drop," "a tail," "zero in on" and the like. It's possible that we're no longer capable of viewing our own habits from a perspective. Anyway, many of those who have engaged in underground activity can no longer stand any other than the underground ritual. Like that girl I spoke about.

You can solve the problem of privacy by hiding with another person. That, however, isn't always possible. Another remedy is "underground love." Whenever a courier girl appears, someone starts to court her. At the beginning of the "war" we'd often laugh at the fact that when you had to find someone, you just had to call at the places of his former girlfriends. Always straight on the mark. The boys would usually ask girlfriends for shelter, for when you're in hiding you don't stay with your wife because of the police, while a girlfriend's place is usually safe. A lover is devoted and attached to you, she respects you and you trust her, so you have the extra benefit of a community of minds and security. Moreover, the girl admires her underground activist, which he quickly perceives, for that's the only warmth he can get.

We often change apartments and have noticed that landladies generally love us and would give themselves to any underground activist, particularly to anyone of the so-called Wroclaw three. It's a matter of fascination, of a certain kind of hero worship. These heroes are impressed by compliments, too. When you hear that you're better-looking than Belmondo, you go slightly crazy. I've discussed this problem with other people a few times. They would tell me: "The hell with it, I have a wife and I love her a lot, but I suppose I love that girl from the underground, too." Or girls would say: "My boyfriend's waiting for me out there, he's missing me a lot, but then there's that printer here..." The supporters of monogamy encounter a situation new to them and one by one discover to their own amazement that you can be very much in love with two people at the same time.

Now to joke a bit. The world is sometimes so complicated. A lovely landlady would like to love you, adore you, give herself to you completely, but on the other hand the same lady, the last button at her navel done, whispers, "You're a gem in society..." How can such a gem glitter falsely?" (...)

(...) I think that distrust is a normal feeling, though it's born of the abnormal situation in which we're functioning. I've been let down many times. Those on whom I counted a lot have refused help. Or those pretensions: they claim they want to cooperate, can't get in touch with us for three months and in the meantime do nothing at all! I've lost all respect for such people. I won't tell any of them anything, even if he is a friend of mine. When he asks me questions, I immediately start to wonder what he wants to do with this information. Isn't he planning to inform on me?

I treat others instrumentally, but then I treat myself in the same way. It's clear in practice: I'm like an ox which toils until it collapses. I'm tired, but keep on writing, exhausted, or go to meet someone. I often praise people when I should tell them off, but I know that this will encourage them.

Distrust and a manipulative approach to people involve something far more serious--a loss of faith in mankind. Everyday organizational, purely technical problems sometimes obscure the supreme goals (the ideals which made us join the struggle) to such an extent that we lose sight of them completely. All around, you see cowardice and psychological laxity; you come to the conclusion that you can't really rely on anyone except yourself. I could put it bluntly: we are active, we are building underground structures to defend society against the regime, but society is composed of concrete individuals. And we start to doubt and think that we're trying to protect the people who perhaps aren't worth it.

Underground factional struggle of various kinds is as old as underground activity itself. On the one hand, we all want to fight for a free Poland, a self-governed society, brotherhood, and so on, but it gradually turns out that we're using dubious methods and base tricks. Brotherhood is a fantasy, there's no sharing, ideals are discarded. Theoretically, they still exist, but they seem more and more abstract, for the means we resort to are no longer noble. (...)

[Part II]

Bogdan Borusewicz:

The number one danger which faces every clandestine organization is that of detaching itself from reality, so that it ceases to express social aspirations, goals and interests, and instead merely expresses its own. Borusewicz thinks that although at some periods in Poland's history there existed underground organizations which defied society, none of them achieved any success.

(...) Fortunately, we haven't yet reached the stage of singing the song of Pilsudski's army "We, the first brigade..." in the old version. Do you know it? His soldiers felt terribly underestimated and what came out of that? They soon started to overestimate themselves to such an extent that the public once again rejected them, all because of a sense of isolation and superiority.

We're not yet facing that danger, but we've repeatedly shown ourselves unable to keep in touch with reality--in May 1982 for instance after the outlawing of Solidarity (and later in October 1982, when a strike broke out at the Gdansk shipyard, we just deliberated instead of acting), and then again, on November 10 of the same year what had been intended as a day of massive, nationwide protest against the disbanding of Solidarity, turned out to be a disgraceful fiasco.

Eugeniusz Szumiejko:

(...) Those who suggest that a new general strategy should be worked out may be divided into two groups. The first group opts for a milder program which the enemy could swallow, i.e. a strictly trade union model with certain elements of a social movement (but without the name Solidarity and all that it involved).

The other group thinks that the first one's attitude is defeatist and demands the opposite, i.e. the adoption of a harder line: no improvements of the system, only let's bring down the system and its people; we want a truly independent Poland, but, as this is still a long way off, let's work out a program for current struggle. And here they converge with the supporters of the Congress program who also content themselves with a short term perspective.

The first group says: we already have a target program. The second one says: we may not have a target program, but there'll come a time to work one out. Nevertheless, they relate immediate aims to long-term ones, accounting the future sovereignty of the nation contingent on the internal sovereignty of individuals which should be hammered out now.

If we were to follow along these lines, it would be easy to divide the public and even to set it quarrelling, for some people would not identify themselves with this program at all. But does the TKK have to come up with ideas for the future of Poland? It would be more convenient to say: dear countrymen, devise programs, conjure up visions, let the people read them and improve their understanding of politics, and we, that is the underground leadership, will support any initiative (well, perhaps with the exception of a communist or fascist one) and will help you propagate it in the West; we ourselves will stick to short-term plans.

Bogdan Borusewicz:

I'm not an expert, but I was shocked to read some of the proposals offered by our advisors. But they are visitors from outer space, they don't understand the situation, this is evident in their crude attacks against Yalta, for instance. Give me a magnifying glass and maybe I'll find a genuine advisor. A scientific degree and a political mind are two totally different things. As we said before, the new advisors have no political experience. And the old ones, Olszewski, Geremek and the others, are currently pursuing their own policy, which is independent of the Provisional Coordinating Commission [TKK] and doesn't necessarily converge with ours. (..)

The language used by the TKK is enigmatic, ideas are not precisely stated, which gives the impression that the TKK doesn't think. Its language resembles Newspeak. All this is due to the fact which I mentioned earlier. We issue too many special-occasion statements before each planned demonstration (of which we're not even quite certain that it will take place) and before each anniversary. Too few documents are published dealing with concrete issues, in response to the authorities; moves and their social and economic policy. We exist when we speak out, and we unfortunately do this all too rarely. (...)

Eugeniusz Szumiejko:

(...) If rivals are emerging (in the positive sense, for anyone fighting the Bolsheviks is our ally), all the better for us! People say, for instance, that Stefan Bratkowski intends to reactivate his "Experience and the Future" [DiP]. Should we stop him? Nonsense. Yes, of course, we should help. We've been expecting this since the beginning of the "war."

Or take the Helsinki Committee, which is no doubt an agency of the TKK. We sort of endorsed its first report on the violation of human rights in Poland, which was sent to the Madrid conference. But even those who were very close to the Committee (supplying money and equipment) did not think that we should absorb it. After a time, the Committee started to bring its own publications and collect its own funds; in a word, it became emancipated. Similarly with the National Culture (or: Education) Council, which already has its own sources of funds and channels of communication with the West. The Council's situation is easier, for scholars and artists often travel abroad and have old friends there.

What we should do is simply to exercise overall control, acquaint ourselves with the statutes of these bodies, the procedures for the distribution of funds, etc. Naturally, if they start doing something we disapprove of, we'll tell them: you must no longer claim links with us; and we'll communicate the same message abroad. And if, instead of a subsidy from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (which was granted recently), they get funds from some department of the French Academy of Sciences, that is their business. While Solidarity was legal, the prevalent trend was also that of support for the foundation of various public councils, associations or commissions.

Zbigniew Bujak:

Yes, we support independent initiatives. For instance, we've organized a Public Committee for Science, which distributes grants on better terms than the Government (in time, it will also be able to provide grants for study abroad).

Unfortunately, although we've sent offers around, so far we've received only a few applications. But we can obtain several hundred grants. So perhaps the story of long queues of scientists waiting to pursue truly independent research is just a myth. But we hope that after the first

grants have been received and the first scientific papers written on those grants have been published the number of applications will go up substantially. Anyway, the Committee is prepared for this.

Many institutions of various degrees of independence are operating in Solidarity's Mazowsze region--from the Regional Executive Commission [RKW] to completely independent undertakings. The style of their work has clearly been improving: they're going pro in the best sense of the word. For instance, a man who a year and half ago didn't have the slightest idea of how to obtain paper for printing is now capable of organizing printing for a new factory or inter-factory body. Simply he now knows how to share the work, what jobs to assign to whom, and where to look for what. The existing publishing houses offer jobs to people who want to and can write or print. For instance, I know how much the CDN publishers can offer authors: 20% of the gross value of the press run; given 10,000 copies at 400 zloty each, the author gets 800,000 zloty. So we've gone professional.

Eugeniusz Szumiejko:

As for views on the importance of the Nobel prize and the role of the prize-winner himself, the underground was divided. Shortly after the prize was granted, Szumiejko said that the prize would do little to improve the situation of the Polish underground in international politics.

The West is concerned with the Polish issue, but only to such an extent as not to be concerned with it seriously. It's convenient to publicly declare that the Nobel prize has been awarded to the whole nation. Such statements would oblige them to support Poles, but now that they have the fighter Walesa they can name a street or a square after him.

When I say "the West," I don't have trade unions or ordinary citizens in mind. We're very grateful for their solidarity and assistance. It is some politicians that I have in mind. They know very well that "the icy winds come in from the East" and that we're the first barrier. But they aren't going to do anything more than to send us aspirin, shoes and long johns. But Poles don't just want warmer and warmer clothing. We don't want the below zero temperatures either.

As for the TKK, during our second meeting with Lech, we gave him a respectful and courteous reception. There was of course brandy in honor of the prize-winner and a cake with one candle (when another Nobel prize is awarded, we'll scrimp and save and buy a cake with two candles). After the ceremony and congratulations we pushed Lech a bit and said: "you sensed the situation correctly, now you've got the Nobel prize, you can go full steam ahead. It's all against the commies. Only God forbid that the commies should start praising you."

Looking at Lech, you could tell that he'd act with more guts, be more firm about the political prisoner issue, and so on. Unfortunately, I also realized the existence of the other side of the coin--the growing influence of the people who were close to him. Eight months before, they first advised us to suspend TKK's operations, for its prestige was bound to decline (and this way we'd at least preserve the popular myth they said). This was a continuation of the line of thinking pursued by the advisors to the National Commission [KK] while Solidarity was still legal. These people have always had a profound approach to the Polish issue. They just must view it in the context of the alignment of forces in the Kremlin Politburo. new army divisions on the Dnieper, the situation in Lebanon, and some disaster in Arkansas. If such factors indicate that the homeland will be saved if the underground winds up, it has to wind up, for it's clear that the homeland... These people are soaked in cabinet politics and won't ever change. But they do care about Poland. No matter if they're sitting drinking tea (or something stronger) or fishing--they're thinking about Poland all the time!

So during the second meeting Lech spoke of the hopes he pinned on the TKK, that "banner of struggle," with less enthusiasm than during the first one. That's why he asked us to authorize him to present the TKK's program at the Gdansk 1970 monument on December 16, 1983 and to let him announce that he himself would go on with the job. I told him then: "Lech, we have a proposal, too: we'll present your program and announce that we ourselves are going to go on with the job." Said Lech: "Don't hold a gun to me." (...)

Bodgan Borusewicz:

(...) We've an uphill task. The public should be made to realize this fact. I've spoken to many people who don't understand the situation at all.

People would come to you and tell you what they didn't like about the underground or point out mistakes, pick on trifles, but failed to understand that sacrifices, including the supreme sacrifices, had to be made in this fight. Otherwise we would not be able to force the authorities to make changes for the better, for they've placed their bet on crude force. After two years, I've got no illusions.

Zbigniew Bujak:

I live by stages and it isn't until one stage is nearing its end that I start planning the next one. This keeps me fit and makes work easier. That's why now I view the year 1985 as a certain target point. I'd like to put some other ideas into practice with other people's help. The first is to establish Solidarity's fund in the West (it would be possible to collect 19 million dollars, maybe more, without much effort). The second idea is a Solidarity award, which we'd grant to organizations and individuals for helping the victims of totalitarian regimes, in this way repaying our moral debt for the assistance we've received from all over the world. Finally, Solidarity's encyclopedia. Work on this encyclopedia is already quite far advanced. We're planning to publish 70 volumes. (...)

Aleksander Hall:

(...) With all the respect I have for my colleagues, I realized that we'd gone different ways much earlier--in July 1983. At that time a general strike was being discussed, which I believed was absolutely impossible. But the differences of opinion reach deeper than the issue of a general strike. Simply I think that underground bodies perform the role they have to perform and then in some way grow obsolete. It's true that for some reasons they should continue to exist, but I think that the underground in its present form is bound to come to an end soon. Walesa largely or even exclusively epitomizes the struggle, but the TKK has come to the point when it has only limited opportunities to lead the struggle. Its voice will probably be treated seriously on a few future occasions, too, but is it better for an actor to quit the stage in full glory or when he's fallen into oblivion? I'm far from predicting that the future fate of the TKK will resemble the history of the London Government in exile (if only, and most importantly, because the TKK is operating in Poland), but the borderline between grandeur and preposterousness is often difficult to find. In 1945, the London Government opposed Yalta and wasn't funny. And what is it now? (...)

Zbigniew Bujak:

I'll just add what our political expectations are. We largely base them on the firm moves of the West, which is now dealing with the socialist bloc more consistently than it has for many years. This has an effect on Polish society. (...)

What Is It All For?

No such book has ever been published by any underground organization yet. Even if there may have been attempts to present in print one's own underground activity--which journalists or writers involved with some underground may have tended to do--their underground superiors efficiently blocked such moves and confiscated the publications. Conspirators wrote about others, but rarely and little about themselves. Nobody disclosed names, described his life and situation and did not pass marks on himself, because these were secret, underground organizations, which needed the secrecy to be efficient and which wanted to pursue some goals.

A certain observation springs to mind: if those conspirators come out into the open so much, maybe they are no longer the traditional kind of conspirators but a "konspira" which uses different methods and pursues different goals? Of course, it is illegal and anti-socialist. This can be seen on every page of the book; it is not hidden but openly proclaimed, despite the fact that until December 13, 1981 it was camouflaged in various cliches. [...] The book also indicates that right from the start the whole movement has been thoroughly anticommunist, but this was concealed in the initial period.



This book creates the impression that it is a confession of conspirators made already after passing the finishing line, one made from the position of a loser. It is the confession of people who in this way not only try to overcome their own loneliness, mentioned so often in "konspira," but also to explain to themselves and to others the reasons for their defeat. Even among themselves they admit that their only successes came in the first months of martial law in 1982. In their view, the last successful demonstrations were those from the end of September 1982, marking the anniversary of the Gdansk Accords. From that moment on, however, everything went wrong, and the "konspira" bosses keep seeking justification: on one occasion they reacted too mildly to some Government statement or other, on another they deluded themselves or neglected something, or made some mistake. Self-critical as they are of themselves and their own actions, they would not, however, confirm one thing: that all the demonstrations so undeniably failed--as they are aware they did--because the masses, even the youth, stopped believing in the efficiency of such action, or even began to understand that such street clashes and public unrest are actually harmful and false.

"Konspira" was published before a grave crime that shook Polish society was committed. That crime drew genuinely huge crowds to Zoliborz. It was a dangerous crime, committed in the name of totally different reasons, one that was not aimed at ensuring Bujak or Borusewicz victory but, on the contrary, at letting loose the kind of terror that would crush this "konspira" within 24 hours. After all, this was the whole plan! To use the provocation for setting in motion a mechanism of terror that would take the place of normally operating services which lawfully safeguard the functioning of the state. It's not "konspira" then, but a provocation...

And so Konspira is getting weaker as a spectacular and efficient political movement. Clandestine printing, done with the help of machines smuggled from the West, is the only exception. If it is to work right, it must be handled by a small number of people. The readers, on the other hand, do not need to be active in the "konspira" at all. Pamphlets and books can be published even in a political and organizational vacuum. On the other hand, the ranks of the "konspira," which the people concerned admit themselves to be, are surprisingly small. And yet those very people naturally exaggerate its size. We smile when, right at the end of his taped statements, Bujak assures us that "the contemporary underground is the best, biggest and most amazing in Poland's history. (...) After us, nobody shall build underground structures for why should they? For this reason, those who do not get involved with this konspira lose a great deal. People, this is really your last chance!"

"Best, biggest" are boasts which can be attributed to a poor memory of history. Besides, everybody makes such boasts, for it's only human. Bujak can hardly be expected to be different. As for "most amazing," I could accept that, if only because this underground published such a book and solicited the people to take the "last chance."

But when you exhort others so desperately, it means that, in a way, you are losing this chance yourself.

As a matter of fact, "Konspira" quite accurately states the reason for the fundamental failure. Why is the underground only aware of the dying force of negotiations? Why are its leaders so lonely that they need their underground to the market to overcome their loneliness? Why do they seek so much publicity?

They provide very clear answers to these questions in the book "Konspira" themselves.

If an underground wants to be an effective movement, it needs a clear, genuine program for the period after victory. After all, they conspire to win, not to suffer defeats or even to survive.

An underground that is not able or willing to answer for itself the question "What is it all for?" is bound to wither. It just loses its purpose.

The people interviewed by Lopinski, Moskita and Wilk somehow sense that and, every now and again, in different configurations and with varying intensity, they return to the subject for their own program. They return and then start waving their arms about, as if trying to chase away the subject. A program? What do we need a program for?

Bujak is right--this is indeed most amazing. This underground does not have, nor does it want to have, any long-range program. They say it quite clearly: they do not need one.

Of course, this is not true. They have some program, and this can be seen from the book. They make it clear that they want the restoration of Solidarity, i.e., the organization they used to have. In addition to that--although they do not say it out loud--they want the biggest possible dismantling of the existing socialist Polish state. They differ with regard to the methods of action. Kuron is presented as an advocate of a more aggressive course, while Bujak appears more cautious and realistic. But the difference only concerns the methods, for the goal remains the same: Solidarity in the open and the dismantling of the state.

But, inevitably, everybody will ask himself the most important question which so many people refused to ask themselves prior to December 13, 1981. The destruction of the state is all very fine, but what comes next?

"Konspira" does not provide an answer to this fundamental question. It is silent as the grave on this point. It's as if the political and historic imagination of the leaders did not extend beyond the point of demolishing the existing state. And what next? What is it all for, why all the efforts connected with the "konspira," why the underground publications, why the quite moving passages about the terribly sad family situation of the underground leaders, missed by their children and wives? What is it all for? Just to demolish the state structure only to close one's eyes next, turn

one's back and shrug one's shoulders, telling oneself and others that "apres nous--le deluge."

One can play the game of "konspira" and the game of "Lech," one can entertain oneself printing underground papers and books, but always, inevitably, it is necessary to answer the question what will happen next. once the abominable socialist state is dismantled? It is necessary to ask about world peace and world war.

The leaders of the former Solidarity were not willing to ask such questions. Had they done so, and had they attempted to answer them, maybe they would have responded in the spring of 1981 to the first overtures concerning the establishment of a Council for National Salvation. Maybe later, in November 1981, they would have agreed to General Jaruzelski's proposals made during his meeting with Primate Glemp and Lech Walesa? They did not agree. They did not want to listen--which is even confirmed in "Konspira"--to the more restrained of their advisers and experts. They were completely confident and intoxicated with their own "wishful thinking"--in this situation it might be quite apt to say it in English, in American. Today they already know that they committed a grave mistake then: they thought that the state was already powerless, that it was a house of cards. This was stupidly naive thinking. However, the worst thing is that they did not learn anything, that they still think as naively as before: the best and biggest underground will demolish the state and then everything will work out fine, somehow of its own accord.

Frankly speaking, I would prefer if Zbigniew Bujak were to fear giving a clear answer to this question than to learn that such an answer is totally irrelevant to him.

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POLAND

## 29th ANNIVERSARY OF THE POZNAN RIOTS

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 pp 1,3

[Article by (tab), "Commemorating the June 1956 Events in Poznan"]

[Text] Yesterday, from the early morning hours, a flaming torch and white-and-red banners around the monument of the Poznan June reminded the Poznan population about the events which had taken place 29 years ago: the days which are permanently inscribed in the calendar of anniversary celebrations of the workers movement in our province, and have turned into a symbol of remembrance of the participants in the rightful workers' protest in the Przemyslaw burgh.

At the foot of the monument at Mickiewicz Square representatives of all the social strata gathered to commemorate this event. At noon a delegation of the PRON Provincial Council -- the initiator and the organizer of the anniversary celebration -- as well as of its signatories, the PZPR Provincial Committee, the SD and ZSL provincial committees, the Christian Social Association, the PAX Association, and the Polish Catholic Social Union, laid a wreath to the drums rolling. Flowers were also laid by a delegation of the provincial and municipal People's Councils, as well as by workers from 42 major industrial plants. On behalf of the organizers of the 29th anniversary of the Poznan June 1956 events, Augustyn Kogut, chairman of the PRON Provincial Council, took the floor to thank all those present for their participation in the celebration.

Also yesterday, representatives of the PRON district councils and of the population laid flowers at the foot of plaques commemorating the June events at the Cegielski plants, the railway rolling-stock repair workshops, the municipal transportation enterprise, and the Raszeja hospital.

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POLAND

# ECONOMIC REFORM IN WAKE OF PARTY CONFERENCE

Kielce-Radom SLOWO LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 85 pp. 1-2

[Interview by Halina Bezak with Wladyslaw Antonie, director of the Kielce Paper Products Factory [KWZP], participant at the Poznan Party-Economic Conference, "After the Party-Economic Conference: The Reform Releases Inventiveness"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What did you expect from the conference?

[Answer] I expected to extend my knowledge, to learn how other enterprises cope with the reform, and, through my own intervention, to contribute to a certain extent to improvement of the reform principles. And that was what actually happened. I attended No 3 group which dealt with the improvement and stabilization of the enterprise's economic system in 1986-1990.

[Question] During the debate both the advantages and the shortcomings of the reform were discussed...

[Answer] Numerous opinions confirmed my feelings, and those of the entire KZWP workforce. Attention was drawn, above all, to the lack of stable reform principles and mechanisms, to multiple regulations and instructions. Such frequent changes do more harm than even less perfect, but stable regulations. Paradoxically, because of the shortcomings of those regulations, weaker enterprises fare better under the reform than those which used to manage well. That is due to the fact that enterprises which used to achieve better results prior to the reform are now hard put to increase effectively the dynamics of their growth without additional investment outlays. The distribution and rationing of raw materials, as well as arbitrariness [in bonuses] and different priorities were also generally criticized. It was pointed out that it should be clearly spelled out what kind of production will have priority, and what reductions can be expected.

[Question] Thus, all the speakers concurred that the reform is a fait accompli, and that--despite some shortcomings which require correction--it has many unquestionable advantages. What do you consider as its advantages?

[Answer] The autonomy of the enterprise, above all. Generally speaking, we -- here I have in mind both myself and the entire KZWP workforce -- enjoy working under the reform. We have accomplished full autonomy. We can spend our profits according to the workforce's wishes. For many years, for instance, we had no resthouse of our own. Now we have bought one at the seashore. Over the last 2 years the reform has given us also the means to build 63 apartments for our workers. We were the first enterprise in the cellulose and paper industry to introduce new wage principles.

[Question] In many enterprises one hears complaints that the development fund is too small, and does not allow even for the reconstruction of the depreciated machine-park. How do the KZPW cope with the problem?

[Answer] We have established cooperation links with enterprises which work for export. Such enterprises need high-standard containers. Until now they used to import them, paying in valuable foreign currency. We promised to supply them with similar containers, provided they assist us in buying the machines we need. This is profitable to both parties. Our cooperation with "Poldrob" is excellent. We jointly buy machines which turn out containers. We have signed a similar contract with the Association of Glass and Ceramics Industry to buy a technological line which turns out state-of-the-art containers.

[Question] It seems that--provided one has the necessary initiative, resourcefulness, and inventiveness--one can find a way to modernize the machine-park...

[Answer] In our case it has been possible. For our enterprise, cooperation with our customers has opened up new vistas for development, in particular since we have been the first to initiate it. By now others would like to follow in our path.

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POLAND

URBAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS ON EDUCATION, LABOR LAWS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jul 85 p 1

[Excerpts] He denied Radio Free Europe's allegations that new regulations have been issued in Poland which would require Polish researchers, who make trips to the West, supply the Polish authorities with detailed information upon return on whom they met abroad and what they talked about, which amounts to denunciation. Meanwhile, under Regulation No 10 issued by the Minister of Higher Education and Science on March 22, 1980, those delegated to make business trips abroad have an obligation to present an official report from the trip to the institution which delegated them within 40 days of the return date. It seems quite natural that an employer sending an employee abroad on a business trip would like to know the results of the trip. University teachers sent abroad receive written instructions which frequently contain the authorization to conduct official talks, including those on the possibility on establishing or expanding cooperation in training specialists, conducting research, convening scientific conferences, etc. It often happens that such talks are conducted on the initiative of the host who also organizes the visit to a given country. Therefore, similar talks frequently involve the need to enter into definite commitments, e.g. to pledge to organize scientific conferences in Poland or establish inter-university cooperation. All such moves have to be approved by the delegating institution which involves the need for a written account of the talks conducted and for basic information concerning the foreign partner and the level at which the talks were held. All this has nothing to do with reporting on private conversations; it is just an official report from a business trip. This illustrates how allegations can be spread on any pretext with an eye to spoiling the atmosphere in Poland.

Joerg Bremer of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung resumed a question raised during the previous news conference, namely the proposed amendment to the law on trade unions. He said his impression was that law included some provisions which overlapped with the law on employee self-management. "If this law is passed, it may happen that a trade union may differ in its opinion regarding some matter from the self-management body at the given factory. Which of the two opinions will then be regarded as more important?"

Urban: "Indeed, some prerogatives of self-management bodies overlap with those of trade unions. It is also true that, as law-makers, we are not particularly anxious to differentiate between such prerogatives for we want practice first to show how all that is functioning at the factories. It is only natural that self-management bodies may differ in their view of some matters from trade unions. It is hard to say which opinion in such cases may be regarded as more important. In keeping with the law on self-management, such bodies have clear prerogatives as one of the organs in charge of the given enterprise. In so far as the law stipulates it, the opinion expressed by a self-management body will be regarded as decisive whenever that body is authorized to make a decision. The law on trade unions, on the other hand, speaks of prerogatives of unions which are authorized to make decisions on some other matters.

I am unable to supply a general reply to this question because neither of these two kinds of bodies has any guaranteed edge on all conceivable matters. All will depend on the legal situation concerning the given matter, as well as other, non-legislative factors, such as the power of each side's arguments, or the clout each of them commands."

"But then," Bremer continued, "it looks that if two sides will represent equal influence, then a third force may emerge which will play the decisive part in such disputes. What possible part can the Party plan then?"

Urban: "The Party's role also depends on the influence of PZPR organization does have in the given factory, on whether it has great influence, whether it can articulate a clear stand on the matter and so on. I think such involved industrial matters, which are internal problems for individual factories, cannot be resolved here in a general and abstract manner, for life has many faces. We are watching how such things are developing, because these are all matters which arise from deep structural changes in our life."

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POLAND

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF STUDENTS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 24, 16 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by Adam Wojciechowski]

[Excerpts] "Average students, not to mention mediocre, dominate. Sometimes I wonder how these people managed to pass university entrance exams. Their knowledge is shameful, and they do not even try to catch up with the best students..."

"Students are frustrated and do not see a future for themselves. They often think of jobs after studies, and the students at some departments are desperate, as they have no chance to work in their profession. They discuss politics all the time, and expect everyone to grumble and negate everything totally..."

"A lack of serious approaches. slovenliness. mental sluggishness and laziness dominate. while student hostels are filled with students living easy. playing cards. drinking heavily and talking through the nights."

This is what students have to say about themselves. Not all of them. of course, but it is hard to ignore such signals coming from different departments. colleges and universities. It is no secret that students are passive, lack aspirations, do not launch initiatives, seek original solutions, or pursue visions. They are content on simply being average. In most cases, they merely receive and transmit opinions and assessments from the top. They do not argue with professors, nor do they engage in disputes. Most prefer to withdraw into their private circles while cultivating a skill for graduating that requires little effort or ambition.

Assistant Professor Halina Najduchowska's sociological studies indicate that a growing number of young people perceive studies merely as a way to prolong their youth and delay decisions concerning professional careers. Many study not knowing exactly why: partly to improve their social position and partly to appease their parents; in other words, mostly from external pressures. Besides, they do not know what else they could do, and want to enjoy the very fun of the student's life. Only some study out of a special need or aspiration. Not much is required of students, since their lodging, food, laundry, etc is taken care of. Hence, for some studies turn into a

form of programmed laziness. They adopt an instrumental approach to studies, treating them merely as a means for acquiring a diploma.

Many families among the intelligentsia believe that a diploma--regardless of professional qualifications--constitutes a pass into the elite. Can the country, however, benefit from increasing numbers of graduates who study only for lack of anything better to do, and for the purpose of passing the time and prolonging their youth? This game is very costly. It is impossible to calculate precisely the sums spent on students, but 9 billion zloty was allocated to scholarships alone in the past academic year. Some 40% of the students received scholarships, but it is impossible to say how many of those received them solely for the fact that they were students.

These trends did not emerge suddenly, but grew over the years. Some claim that student passivity began in the 70's, as in the 60's they were more interested in the subject of their studies. Perhaps due to the rapid growth in the number of students in the 70's, professors began to devote less time to them individually. I believe, however, that this is only one of the reasons. In order to find a clear answer to this question, we should examine many factors, starting with the postwar era, when it was more difficult to study, and yet students did not lack the motivation to do so.

And what is happening now? Various examples can be cited, but a detailed analysis of the situation in specific colleges would go beyond the scope of this article, so I will only provide some general data. Table I presents the percentage of students completing their studies in the prescribed time in Warsaw colleges. The figures are significant and speak for themselves. Only one in ten students in the Academy of Economics graduates on time. In the 1983/84 academic year only 2,942 graduated on time from Warsaw colleges, which is one-third of figure for 1978-79.

Philosophy and sociology students at Warsaw University have been found to prolong their studies an average four years. Similar trends can be observed in the mathematics, computer science, mechanics and physics departments. New regulations actually favor prolonging studies. In some cases, students can take up to 9 years to complete their studies.

The index of study efficiency (the ratio of students allowed to enroll for the next year of studies in relation to the total number of students in a given year) dropped in 1981-82 by only 1.9% from the year before and amounted to 85.1%, but the situation subsequently deteriorated, and at the Warsaw University the index fell in just one year from 84.6 to 78.9%. In other words, as many as 21% of the students failed to meet the requirements enabling them to enroll in the next year of studies. [...]

In the 1983-84 academic year, one in two students graduated on time from universities, colleges of science and technology, and academies of agriculture and economics. By the end of 1984 as many as 14,000 people had still not completed their graduate theses. Of the 38,000 senior students in

colleges subordinated to the Ministry of Higher Education and Science, only 17,500 (46%) completed their theses by the prescribed deadline, i.e. by August 15. At Cracow's Jagiellonian University, not one person studying Scandinavian languages or archeology completed his thesis on time.

The highest indices of timely studies were noted in agriculture academies (80-90%), followed by medical academies (60-70%), colleges of science and technology and universities. [...]

The figures vary greatly between colleges and departments, making it difficult to name all causes for concern and to determine the reasons for weaker study discipline. Consequently, all assessments and opinions are approximate and simplified.

Many sectors of the economy and culture were obviously deprived of several thousand new employees. The ensuing social and economic losses are hard to calculate, but they must be considerable. In August 1984, the Minister of Labor, Pay and Social Security said that prolonged studies lead to difficulties in implementing plans for graduate employment.

Under the provisions of the Central Annual Plan (CPR), 43,600 graduates were expected in 1984, but only 39,900 students graduated, i.e. 7.6% less. Some 25-26,000 of them were employed by the end of 1984.

It is, of course, not enough to examine only study efficiency indices when assessing the quality and effectiveness of studies. In many cases this may lead to oversimplification. The source of many students' failures may be found in their insufficient intellectual preparation for studies, lack of motivation, organizational and didactic errors on the part of colleges and financial difficulties.

The excessively liberal approach of college employees is one of the causes for weaker discipline. Professors and tutors do not require students to fulfill their duties and exhibit no interest in their scientific progress. The supervisors of graduate theses often spend very little time with the students, and some graduates insist they cannot complete their theses on time because the supervisors do not select the subject of the theses in time for them to examine the matter.

Some tutors departing for scholarships abroad do not bother with choosing other supervisors for their graduates. The graduates involved in laboratory experiments for their theses are in a worse situation than others, because they are often unable to obtain all the reagents and equipment needed for the tests.

Other causes for not passing exams on time and students' lower aspirations include some students' involvement in work of all kinds, a tendency to replace study with entertainment, a shortage of textbooks, and maternity leaves (women account for 70% of all students).

Students also try to prolong their studies in fear of independent, adult life. They know that highly qualified employees have in recent years become relatively less attractive and less well-paid. College graduates often receive a lower starting salary than secondary school graduates. Professor Janusz Tymowski believes that low salaries among college graduates are at present leading cause for fewer college candidates from workers' and peasants' families.

College graduates face greater difficulties with finding any kind of job now, as obligatory employment for their ranks was abolished in 1983. The number of scholarships founded by the future places of employment dropped and openings in provincial locations are usually unattractive. No wonder then that graduates from the Academy of Economics, for instance, willingly seek employment in private and Polonian firms.

I am sure less would be heard about study inefficiency if Poland followed the pattern of the wealthier states, where study results are linked to the opportunity for finding better paid, more attractive jobs, and if talent and diligence were among the features employers seek.

But how can such subtle mechanisms be introduced in Poland, where it remains impossible to link the knowledge taught in colleges to the skills required by employers? In 1976-81 as much as 21% of all graduates were employed outside their profession; this in particular refers to the graduates of humanities law, economics and political sciences. Statistics show that only 60% of students graduating from Lodz University and the Lodz College of Science and Technology were employed in their profession; only 36% of this total found jobs in the field in which they specialized and only 42% held positions corresponding to their education. How high are these figures nationwide?

A disbelief in the future discourages students from raising their qualifications. Can students attach great importance to studies if their future job will not depend on them? In order to produce positive results, studies must involve a consistent effort subordinated to a specific goal. Thus, Zbigniew Mendel of Silesian University proposes that the best graduates be given the choice of more attractive and better paid jobs, something which is already being done in other countries. The present situation in Poland, where graduation results bear little or almost no impact on a graduate's further career, produces many negative effects.

The best didactic results are achieved when students' predispositions and interests correspond with their line of studies and thus encourage them to work well. [...]

The 132 Ministry of Higher Education and Science's scholarships offered this year to the best students reflect a positive attempt to overcome passive attitudes toward learning, as are the reinstated rector's awards to the students whose results are above the average.

A project to base the number of scholarships upon results is another praiseworthy initiative that encourages students to complete their studies as soon as possible. [...]

Professor Jan Szczepanski observed that the standard measure of the value of university graduates was the state of the Polish economy. The value of graduates from science and technology colleges is reflected by the condition of production plants and the quality of industrial products. Equally, agricultural standards depend upon farming school graduates.

I think that only the results achieved by graduates at work can provide a measure of their value. At the same time, they can provide a basis for a proper orientation of particular university departments and curricula.

According to Professor Wieslaw Wisniewski, in the years 1980-84, the standard of education declined, although in 1980 it was not that high to begin with. Professor Szczepanski asserts that in 1980 the standard of university education was lower than before the war. University graduates' general knowledge was more or less equal to that of the average high-school graduate before the war.

It is true that graduates of many institutions of higher learning are incompetent and unprepared for their respective jobs. The charge brought by industry that "top boys fail their practical" test confirms small applicability of their knowledge.

#### Hammering Knowledge Into Students' Heads Instead of Training Them

The difference between the methods of educating students is most glaring when we compare Polish university curricula with Swiss, French or American ones. The number of weekly classes in Poland is usually twice those in the aforementioned countries. In Poland the student must be credited with particular subjects one after another, while in those countries he is given a choice [...] as well as the teachers' assistance..

[...] Polish universities have specialized in what is the easiest-- "hammering knowledge" and "taking students through the curriculum."

Therefore, it is proper to ask a fundamental question: is the university education in Poland a real education? More often than not, it resembles a high-school system.

[...] Unfortunately, there are very few proposals for how to change it.

The Academy of Economics [...] divides students into groups by enterprise. Every group is given the same information and makes all possible decisions. Computer analysis shows which group was the most successful in managing its enterprise. Jagiellonian University has introduced optional courses. The Wroclaw College of Science and Technology proposes an obligatory 16-18 classroom hours a week plus individual courses with teachers. The Bielsko-Biala branch of the College of Science and Education in Lodz has delegated

seventeen 3rd and 4th-year students from the Department of Car and Tractor Construction to the Research and Development Center of the Small Car Factory [at Bielsko-Biala]. There they work on various designs and prepare their master's theses.

These examples show that it is possible to improve the effectiveness of studies, while abandoning obsolete methods of teaching. [...]

Before Polish universities manage to substitute active methods of education for passive ones, it should be asked whether or not it is educational and economic anachronism to require that all university graduates obtain the M.A. degree. This system of education is extremely costly and, moreover, goes beyond socio-economic needs and intellectual abilities of many students. Dr Franciszek Januszewski has proposed an introduction of four models of studies: 1) one that leads the student to the M.A. degree, available to 40% of students and lasting five years; 2) a basic, professional one for engineers, available to 50% of the students and lasting from three to three and a half years; 3) one that leads to the Ph.D. degree, available to 7% of the students and lasting seven years; and 4) a two-year college, offering practical education.

I believe that allowing the best students to start doctoral courses even before they obtain their M.A. degrees is a considerably swifter measure. There is neither any obstacle to prevent students from taking courses at several similar faculties or institutes of different universities. For example, medical students could take psychology at the university.

Although many colleges have introduced individual courses, so far their individual character is nothing but illusory. A student still has very meager chances to carry out his own program, while individual courses require a strong determination of the students interested and good will of the academic teachers.

It is very bad that colleges have not extended particular care to the most talented students, winners of subject competitions, but left them to their own fate.

Students are critical of their tutors who usually do not fulfill their duties. More often than not, the tutors change every year and no one cares for the continuity in a program of studies. The tutors' obligations are usually so vaguely formulated that students do not even know what they should expect of them.

By increasing the number of scientists, Poland has a chance to reach the level where the proportion between scientists and students is 1:3-4. In comparison with other countries, this relation is presently quite good. In 1980 the number of students per one university teacher were as follows: in East Germany-4.8, in Hungary-5.8, in Great Britain-6.6, in Bulgaria-6.9, in Poland-7.9, in West Germany-8.1, in Czechoslovakia-8.8, in the U.S.-8.9, in Switzerland-11.3, in Denmark-12.7, in Rumania-13.2, in the U.S.S.R-14.3, in Yugoslavia-15.5, in Spain-16.0, in Canada-19, and in France-19.6. Yet, it is not the figures that are the most important. [...]

Since Polish colleges educate neither many nor good students (see Table 2), and since Poland's budget is limited, Poland's only way out is to increase the quality and effectiveness of the college education. This seems to be the most urgent task for the next few years. If universities do not produce graduates whose skills correspond to society's needs and aspirations, Poland will not build modern industry, services, science, etc. At the same time socio-economic difficulties will increase, while investments in higher education will not bring the results expected by society.

Table 1): The Percentage of Students Graduating on Time From Warsaw University and Colleges

Higher Education Institution	Academic Year 1978-79	Academic Year 1983-84
1) Warsaw University	78.7	29.3
2) The Warsaw College of Science and Technology	89.2	35.6
3) Academy of Economics	39.5	10.5
4) Medical Academy	97.4	72
5) Academy of Physical Education	71.6	36.2

Table 2): A Number of College Students Per 100,000 Population

Country	1980	1970
1. United States	4617	3920
2. Canada	2603	2001
3. Soviet Union	1972	1887
4. Italy	1904	1433
5. Finland	1735	1290
6. West Germany	1729	783
7. Austria	1687	773
8. Denmark	1618	992
9. France	1462	1317
10. Israel	1440	1350
11. Yugoslavia	1389	943
12. Netherlands	1378	1290
13. Spain	1333	759
14. Czechoslovakia	1287	915
15. Poland	1275	1060
16. Belgium	1175	807
17. Norway	1089	683
18. Great Britain	1059	467
19. Ireland	1009	834
20. Bulgaria	985	1121
21. Switzerland	959	681
22. Sweden	886	1540
23. Greece	884	795
24. Romania	868	750
25. Portugal	834	647
26. East Germany	776	838
27. Hungary	558	555
28. Turkey	495	220

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POLAND

## WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT MAKES LITTLE HEADWAY, POLLS SHOWS

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish No 26, 30 Jun 85 p 6

[Text] A study conducted in April of this year of 334 industrial enterprises carried out by the Public Opinion Polling Center (CBOS) revealed that despite the existence of workers' self-management, the director and the top managerial cadre still had the final say. It is the latter group that makes the most important decisions concerning the enterprise's production, finances, wages, profit and staffing policy.

The studies revealed that workers' self-management acquired the status of an autonomous decision-making factor in barely 15% of enterprises. In the remaining enterprises it participates in collective decision-making. As a rule, self-management's voice is greater in matters concerning the workers' interest directly (such as distribution of profit and revenues or motivational stimuli) than in those concerning the enterprise's interest (finance, policies of investment and modernization).

Distribution of the enterprise's income among particular funds, the rules of an association, sales of machinery and equipment, allocating subsidies to social organizations and associations, and giving opinions on candidates for awards continue to be the sphere of workers' council's direct influence.

If one compares the kind of problems decided upon by the management and the kind of problems decided upon by workers' councils, one notices that the influence of the latter is limited to problems of secondary importance to the enterprise's operation. The problems of key importance, such as planning, production, investment, wages or organization of labor, are decided by the management, although sometimes in cooperation with the council.

The studies also revealed that over 60% of enterprise councils had not discussed such problems as appointments of the director and his deputies, introduction of significant changes into their technological processes, assessment of the correctness of their respective production quota, the principles of using the enterprise-owned communications media, cooperation or export agreements.

In nearly half of the enterprises, directors exert a direct influence on the workers' council's decisions. In nearly 30% of the enterprises such influence is exerted by Party and trade union organizations. Mixed commissions composed of the council and the management, the council and the Party organization or the council and the trade union operate in about 60% of the enterprises. At the same time, in over 20% of the enterprises the director represents the interests of the Party organization vis-a-vis the workers' council.

Disregarding the activeness and independence of particular workers' councils, their cooperation with other decision-makers within their particular enterprises is usually smooth. However, as far as their own independence is concerned, they fare much worse. Their dependence on the others is exemplified by the fact that the materials for their sessions are prepared together by the respective council's presidium and the director. This is the situation in over half of the enterprises. Over 47% of the enterprises adhere to the custom of consulting plan and resolutions with the director before the council's session. It can be generally be said that in over half of the enterprises, the director or his attorney participate in the preparation of the workers' council's decisions.

One can also observe matters for debate between the council and the management. These matters involve such crucial problems as the volume of production, lines of development, distribution of revenues and profit, and relations with the environment. The results of these conflicting interests differ. Last year workers' councils prepared their own plans of distribution of earnings to be assigned to individual awards in 43.4% of the enterprises examined. However, a mere 15.6% of the workers' councils succeeded in carrying their point, while 23.1% contented themselves with amending the director's list.

In only 12% of the enterprises examined did workers' councils manage to change the manner of management's decision-making. In 86% of of the enterprises the workers' body is of great importance.

In the 1970s it became customary to decide issues collectively. The collective body usually included the enterprise's director, first secretary of its PZPR organization, leader of the relevant trade union and, sometimes, leaders of other organizations active within the enterprise. The legal regulations now in force, the laws on enterprise and on workers' self-management in particular, do not endow these bodies with any decision-making prerogatives. In practice, however, these bodies have maintained their prerogatives. Officially, they are called the enterprise's consultative forum. It is exactly on this forum where the majority of decisions are actually made.

Although such an arrangement has its advantages, it also has the danger of turning workers' self-management into one more gear of the collective machinery or into an executor of the collective bodies' instructions. Such a situation would be repugnant to the aims of the economic reform, which has self-management as its pillar. If self-management does not

break bureaucratic habits of their respective enterprises' boards of directors of settling all affairs in their own narrow circle, then reform understood as a process socializing the enterprise management can face one more danger.

Workers' self-management is facing other dangers as well. Although 80% of the workers' councils' membership includes production workers, the CBOS studies revealed that junior executives and expert engineers have a decisive say there. In the 334 enterprises examined, 31% of self-management's presidents were heads of production units, 20% were heads of functional units and 17% were expert engineers. Although blue-collar workers made up 48.3% of the councils' composition, there were only 37.4% of them on the presidia, and a mere 8% presided over the councils. Foremen made up 19% of the councils' membership, but only 10% of their chairmen. A further increase in the board of directors' influence on self-management bodies can result in a further inclination for self-management to govern in a technocratic manner and eventually transform itself into a "collective director." This would be tantamount to abandoning the idea of workers' self-management and to halting the process of socializing the enterprise management. Therefore, development of self-management will largely depend upon to what degree the groups playing a fundamental role in the life of the workers' communities, i.e. blue-collar workers and foremen, join in its activity.

CBOS results illustrate that the old barriers make the process of winning full self-management difficult and requiring more time than originally anticipated. That is why this process deserves all the more acceleration.

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POLAND

#### BRIEFS

FRENCH COMMUNISTS IN KATOWICE--A delegation of the French Communist Party [FCP] Pas-de-Calais Federation, chaired by Remy Auchede, first secretary of the Federation and member of the FCP Central Committee, sojourned in the Katowice province. The guests visited several cities, plants, and research centers all over the province. During their meetings with representatives of the PZPR organizations, the problems of working people's conditions in the Katowice province and the party's activities were discussed. The French guests talked about the situation and the activity of FCP, and about the deteriorating life conditions of the working people in their country. The FCP delegation visited the site of the former German death camp at Oswiecim, and paid a visit to Krakow. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 2] 12485

JUDICIARY NOMINATIONS--Judiciary nomination acts were handed over in the Ministry of Justice to 169 people appointed in June by the Council of State as provincial and district court judges. Seven people were given the minister's nomination as notaries public. The nomination acts were handed over by Kazimierz Secomski, vicepresident of the Council of State. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 2] 12485

PRON YOUTH ACTIVISTS MEET--The central training and recreation campaign, organized by the all-Polish Programmatic Board of the Young Generation Forum, affiliated with the PRON National Council, was inaugurated at Pieczyska (Bydgoszcz province). The campaign aims at preparing young movement activists for their work among young people, as well as within the framework of the Young Generation Forums established under the egis of PRON provincial councils. During the inauguration, attended by Andrzej Elbanowski, vicechairman of the PRON national Council, Andrzej Ornat, minister for youth, as well as representatives of youth organizations' leadership, young people were acquainted with the situation and problems of implementation of the governmental program for improved conditions of the younger generation's life and occupational start. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 2] 12485

UN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OFFICIAL VISITS--G. Arthur Brown, first deputy administrator of the United Nations Development Program [UNDP], sojourns in Poland at the invitation of the PPR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. UNDP is the main UN agency for aid, chiefly technical one, which includes training

of experts, providing research and investment equipment, etc. In Poland, in cooperation with UNDP, many projects of major importance for the national economy have been undertaken. On 8 July Arthur Brown was received by the deputy Prime Minister, Zbigniew Szalajda. UNDP activities and Poland's participation in implementing projects undertaken by the UN agency, were discussed. The same day G. Arthur Brown paid a visit to the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, deputy minister Henryk Jaroszek. Poland's cooperation with UNDP was discussed in its entirety, in particular the project program for 1987-1991. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jul 85 p 2] 12485

ZSL, FARMERS' SELF-HELP GROUP MEET--Chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, Deputy Prime Minister Roman Malinowski, met in the Office of the Council of Ministers with members of the Presidium of the Council and Managing Board of the Central Cooperative Union, "Farmers' Self-Help", to discuss matters connected with the present and future activity of the "Farmers' Self-Help". Franciszek Dabal, chairman of the council, and Jan Kaminski, chairman of the Main Managing Board, presented the most essential problems connected with the self-government and economic activities of their cooperative organization, the largest in the country. Roman Malinowski, alluding to the problems raised, emphasized, inter alia, the major contribution of the cooperative organization in preparing the harvesting campaign, as well as the importance of various accomplishments of cooperative members to promote progress in the countryside and in agriculture. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jul 85 p 2] 12485

OPPOSITION ACTIVIST SENTENCED--Jan Kostecki, 59, retired, was sentenced in Szczecin to 2 years in prison. Between 20 November 1984 and February 1985 he used to be the deputy chairman of an illegal organization, the so-called Citizens' Committee in Defense of Legality in the West Pomeranian region, and engaged in activities contrary to law. The sentence is not final. Together with Jan Kostecki, Edmund Baluka, chairman of the Committee, was also to be tried; in April 1985 the court allowed him to go to France for a family visit, but despite the summons he failed to appear in court. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 Jul 85 p 2] 12485

SZCZECIN DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The provincial Szczecin Defense Committee evaluated the initial stages of this seaside area's vacation and tourist season. It was concluded that the localities comprising this resort complex are adequately prepared to provide vacationers and tourists with appropriate facilities and comforts to insure satisfactory relaxation. The WKO [Provincial Defense Committee] also studied the educational programs which instill patriotic attitudes and defense preparedness of the community, but especially that of the younger generation. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 4] 12306

MEMORIAL FOR 1945 SZCZECIN LIBERATORS--Dobra Nowogardzka located in the Szczecin province has a statue commemorating the soldiers who liberated the Szczecin territory in 1945 and which also is an expression of gratitude. The last runner of a relay team carrying an urn with soil from the Siekierki battlefield on the Oder, arrived during the ceremonies. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 4] 12306

WATERSHED TALKS WITH SOVIETS--USSR Deputy Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Management Wasil Jermolenko visited Poland. He headed up the Soviet delegation for negotiations with Polish People's Republic representatives in matters concerning water resources shared by both countries. Discussions centered around the employment of effective methods for improving decontamination of rivers. On 13 July 1985 Stefan Zarembski, minister of the Department of Natural Resources, met with the Soviet guest, at which time the main topic of conversation was the efforts undertaken by both countries leading to positive results in the rehabilitation of natural resources. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 4] 12306

WKO MEETING IN LUBLIN -- Yesterday in Lublin a WKO [Provincial Defense Council] meeting was held. In the debate, chaired by Brigadier Bernard Naregowski, head of the provincial internal affairs office, the program for the development of heat power generation in the province till 1990 was presented, and the security of public property in the construction industry and in the building materials trade was assessed. In some towns of Lublin Province the demand for heating power in buildings already connected to the mains has recently exceeded the supply by 145 Gcal per hour. The greatest deficit in heating power has appeared in Lublin, Swidnik, Pulawy, and Krasnik. The recently completed investment projects, however, will not be able to balance the heating power deficit in the next few years, since the plans for 1986-1990 provide for completion of some 20.5 thousand apartments which have to be heated too. In this domain the situation will improve only by the early 1990s, thanks, inter alia, to construction of central boiler-houses in Ryki (its construction is due to start in 1987) and Opole Lubelskie (1989), as well as through extension of a similar object in Lubartow (1988). Moreover, in the next few years extension of heating power generating plants run by other ministries is also envisaged. Such projects are planned in Swidnik, Pulawy, and Belzyce. When the state of security of public property in the construction industry and in the building materials trade was presented, it was pointed out that, compared to the situation a few years ago, it has improved considerably. Attention was drawn, however, to many shortcomings of different kinds, which continue to raise misgivings and controversies. During the debate motions were submitted for implementation in the near future. [Text] [Biala Podlaska SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8-9 Jun 85 p 2] 12485

WKO DELIBERATIONS IN LODZ--A WKO meeting in Lodz, chaired by Lech Krowiranda, the Lodz deputy mayor, was held on 14 June. Motions concerning the current state of roads and bridges all over Lodz Province, as well as food stocks, were submitted during the debate, and sent for implementation. Subsequently, the report of the Polesie district head, concerning the state of defense preparations, was approved. The WKO also set up its meetings schedule for the second half of 1985. [Text] [Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 15-16 Jun 85 p 2] 12485

WKO DELIBERATIONS IN SUWALKI--The WKO meeting in Suwalki dealt with the program of educational impact on children and young people who spend their

vacations in the Suwalki province, as well as with the prospects for consumer food supply during the tourist season and the intensive farmwork period. This year, some 45,000 girls and boys from the province will enjoy some forms of summer rest. A similar number is expected from other parts of the country. It was pointed out that the main aim of the summer campaign is to provide children and youth with the best possible conditions for active recreation, health recuperation, improved physical condition, as well as continuation--under summer-camp conditions--of the ideological and educational work provided during the school term by schools and youth organizations. Among others, the artistic competition, "The heart-painted Polish landscape", organized under the egis of the National Children Council, affiliated with the PRON National Council, will be continued. The excursions plans will include visits to sites linked to Polish history and the struggle for independence and social liberation, to national commemoration sites, as well as to industrial plants and cultural monuments. Summer camps will also attend local festivities connected with the 22 July holiday. Young people will participate in the "Defense days". While meeting council members, trade-union and self-government activists, and representatives of the provincial authorities, young people will be told about the sociopolitical and economic situation of the country. It is expected that the food supply during the summer season would be better than in recent years. There should be no shortage of staples. [Text] [Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 p 2] 12485

LOMZA DEFENSE COMMITTEE--Results achieved from the completed assignments in the Lomza district were assessed by the local Provincial Defense Committee. It was concluded that a majority of the workshops are making up production shortages which resulted from the effects of difficult circumstances prevalent during the earlier months of this year. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 4] 12306

ITALIAN CP COOPERATION--Giancarlo Pajetta, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party's Central Committee, visited Poland at the invitation of the Central Committee PZPR. He met with: Jozef Czyrko, a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee; Marian Orzechowski, administrative member of the political Bureau and rector of ANS PZPR; Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee; Wladyslaw Lorange and Wlodzimierz Natorf, directors of the Central Committee Ideologic and Foreign Affairs Department; minister Adam Lopatka, director of the Office for Religious Matters. Discussions centered around opinions relative to activities of both parties' programs and also the prevailing international situation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 2] 12306

PARTY LOOKS AT PUBLISHING POLICY--The Publication Policy and Literature Promotion Board within the Cultural Department of the Central Committee PZPR conducted its deliberations on July 15, 1985. Next year's contemporary fine literature publication release schedule was resolved and the Publication Board's program for the period ending March of 1986 was agreed upon. Deputy director of the Central Committee's Cultural Department, Kazimierz Molek participated in the discussions which were conducted by the chairman of the group, Eugenjusz Piliszek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 2] 12306

BULGARIAN EDITORS AT 'NOWE DROGI'--A delegation of the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party 'Nowo Wreme' visited Poland on the invitation of 'Nowe Drogi'. Avram Melamed and Aleksiej Aleksjew were members of the delegation. Talks took place in the office of 'Nowe Drogi' with the participation of its chief editor Stanislaw Wronski. At the meeting in Warsaw and Szczecin the delegates got acquainted with problems of the party and economy. The following people met with member of the delegation: deputy chief of the Department of Political-Organizational KC PZPR, Wieslaw Iskra, and deputy chairman of the Planning Committee of the Council of Ministers, Franciszek Kubiczek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 85 p 7] 12470

POLL LOOKS AT ADMINISTRATORS--Administrators in the eyes of the citizenry -- that was the theme of a TRYBUNA LUDU interview with General Wlodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration and urban planning. Question: Comrade Minister, an overwhelming majority -- over 68 percent -- of respondents to a CBOS [Social Opinion Research Center] poll consider the administration as excessively blown up. Answer: It is hard to share their view, [which reflects] one of our social myths. The reason why such views are being expressed is the mistaken identification of the state administration with the economic and cooperative management. In relation to the population size, the state administration in Poland is the least numerous, compared to other socialist countries. In 1984 there were 36 civil servants for 10,000 inhabitants of our country, while in Czechoslovakia, for instance, there were 49, and in Bulgaria 61. Relatively low are the social costs of their upkeep. After 1980 the employment was reduced, even though the tasks of the local state administration have gone up considerably, both because of the changed scope of its activities and the economic situation of the country. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 15 Jun 85 p 2] 12485

STUDENT, GRADUATE NUMBERS--In 1985/86 the universities have 16,300 student registration books to distribute, polytechnical schools -- 10,100, agricultural academies -- 5,500, economic academies -- 2,500, higher teachers' schools -- 5,400. In higher-education schools run by other ministries the limits of enrollment will remain unchanged (10,200). Medical academies will accept 6,200 freshmen, physical education academies -- 1,200, and maritime academies -- 400. All in all, there will be 50,000 vacancies in the first year of studies. Thus we witness a systematic reduction in enrollment limits. In 1975, 71,600 freshmen were enrolled for full-time studies, in 1980 -- 59,200, in 1983 -- 51,900, and last year 50,400. At the same time the proportion of student candidates in the total number of high-school graduates has gone down as well. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 22 Jun 85 p 2]

UNION CHIEF RECALLED--The extraordinary congress of delegates of the Independent and Self-governing Federation of Leather Workers was held following complaints by enterprise trade-union organizations and the Federation's audit commission, which had signaled the low level of implementation of the program and the resolutions voted at the founding congress. The delegates recalled the current chairman, Wlodzimierz Niechwiadowicz. Jan Kusiak,



from the PODHALE Leather Industry Plant in Nowy Targ, was elected new chairman. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 22 Jun 85 p 2] 12485

WROBLEWSKI ON UNIONS--"Keeping in mind all the similarities and the differences, let us look once more at trade unions in the West. Even the most sympathetic observers have noticed some decrease both in membership and in their activity; after all, the two are linked. The defense of working people's interests, perceived as resistance to all painful change, has proved ineffective. One can see it everywhere, but especially in Great Britain where for the second time running the electorate refused to support a party whose strength was based on the trade union. Instead of a party of social demands, the ruling party is the one of belt-tightening and social inequality, but accompanied by higher productivity and promotion of prosperity. I suspect that, had conditions in Poland evolved differently, had not martial law cut short the existence of Solidarity, this mass trade union organization gradually would have either to scale down its demands considerably, or else start losing its public support. Excessively ebullient trade union movement is just as unhealthy for the equilibrium of social life, as a dwarfed and submissive one. The same could also be said about the new unions, which for obvious political reasons try to show to all and sundry, as well to themselves, that they are a genuine force, not controlled by anybody at the top, and true to its noble aims." [Excerpt] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 22 Jun 85 p 2, quoted from ZARZADZANIE, May 1985] 12485

NEW LABOR LAW COURTS--In a few days, on 1 July 1985, the reform of labor law courts takes effect. Its results include setting up a fourth separate section of the general judiciary, in addition to the criminal, civil, and family courts. It will take over arbitration of conflicts related to employment contracts and social security. The Ministry of Justice has already completed the training of judiciary cadres, while informative courses for court assessors are nearing their completion. On 25-26 June such a meeting organized by the Warsaw Provincial Court was held. Assessors were presented with basic information on changes introduced on 1 July. They were assured that the judges and the court administration will give them all the necessary assistance in discharging their duties. The assessors on their part submitted remarks and suggestions to which the court administration should pay heed in order to ensure that the activity of lay judges will bring the effects expected by public opinions. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 2] 12485

WESTERN EXPERT SEES OLSZOWSKI--Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski, a member of the Political Bureau, met with the director of Poznan Institute for Western Studies, Prof Antoni Czubinski who presented minister Olszowski with a copy of PIZ's [Poznan Institute for Western Studies] recent edition of "The Federal German Republic During its Social Democratic-Liberation Coalition Governments (1959-1982)". [Republika Federalna Niemiec w dobie rzadow koalicji socialdemokratyczno-liberalnej (1959-1982).] [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 4] 12306

RAKOWSKI MEETS WROCLAW ARTISTS--On the 8th of this month a meeting took place in Wroclaw between the representatives of the local art community with the Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw C. Rakowski who answered many questions connected with the present socio-political situation in the country and the world. Among other things he has emphasized the importance of the Polish scholars and cultural activists in carrying out the decisions of the XIX Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR which describe the place and duties of our intelligentsia in the socialist development of Poland. The Deputy Premier also visited the Rotunda of "Panorama of Racławice", getting acquainted with the building of it and the process of conservation of fabric. He also visited the Library of the Ossolinski National Institute in Wroclaw. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jul 85 p 4] 12470

CZECH PARTY OFFICIALS VISIT--On the invitation of the Central Committee of the PZPR, on the 9th of this month a delegation of the Central Committee of the KPCz arrived in Warsaw for a few days' visit. The delegation was greeted at the airport by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee. Talks were started on the same day in the place of the Central Committee of PZPR. The subjects of the talks were issues connected with the implementation of the current socio-economic tasks in both countries and problems of strengthening the Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation in the economic area. Ambassador CSRS Jirzi Divisz participated in the talks. The delegates of the KPCz spent the afternoon in Radom, where they met with the members of the office of KW PZPR. At that meeting Zofia Grzyb, a member of the Politburo of KC PZPR, took part in the discussion, in which there was mention of the experiences in the area of party work. The hosts also gave some information about the economic and social problems of the province. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jul 85 p 2] 12470

PZPR, ZSL MEETINGS--In the Central Committee of PZPR a meeting took place under the chairmanship of Secretary of Central Committee of the PZPR, Zbigniew Michalek, with the purpose of prescribing ways and terms of carrying out the decisions of the joint conference of the Politburo of the KC PZPR and the Presidium of NK ZSL of 19 June of this year, and which pertains to creating material conditions for continued progress of agriculture and food industry. In that meeting participated the chairman of the agriculture department KC, Stefan Zawodzinski, and representatives of the leadership of involved departments KC PZPR, NK ZSL, Planning Committee of RM, central divisions and institutions. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jul 85 p 2] 12470

ALCOHOL DETOX CENTERS EVALUATED--At the meeting held by the Council of Ministers' Special Committee for combating alcoholism, a discussion took place about the activities of the detoxification stations in the context of implementing a law regarding education in conditions of sobriety and combating drunkenness. The discussion was led by the chairman Deputy Premier Zenon Komender. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jul 85 p 2] 12470

NORWAY, SWEDEN SUPPORT AG FOUNDATION--Between May 26 and June 10 of this year a delegation of the organizing committee of the Agricultural Foundation, in the persons of Alojzy Orszulik, the Episcopate's representative to the foundation, and Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, chairman of the committee, visited in Norway and Sweden for the purpose of collecting information and inquiry. In Oslo the delegates held talks with Catholic and Lutheran bishops, deputy ministers of foreign affairs and education and also with the leadership of the farmers' unions. All those interviewed declared tangible support. Two committees were organized for the purpose of collecting funds for the foundation, one in Stavanger and another in Foerde. In Stockholm the delegates held talks with the Catholic bishops and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, parliamentary committees in the area of agriculture and foreign affairs, also with the head of the Peasants' Party and the Union of Swedish farmers. The Union of Swedish Farmers offered to participate in carrying out the pilot plan and the total program. [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 23 Jun 85 p 7] 12470

OPZZ, MESSNER TALKS--Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner held talks with the chairman of the Statewide Association of Trade Unions, Alfred Miodowicz. The subject was the progress of the work on the draft of the law on collective labor contracts. It was determined that the work of the government-union agency, called upon to present the draft in the beginning of this year, is coming to its close. It was emphasized that while in the initial phase there were many differences of opinion, the present stage of work allows one to believe that a common stand will be worked out. At the present stage the work on the project will concentrate on the issue of whether the collective labor contracts should be obligatory or discretionary, the relation of the contracts to the enterprises' wage-system, pre-registration control of the agreements' conformity to the principles of the socio-economic policy of the country. After the work is finished the draft law will go to the council of Ministers to be discussed there and then it will be presented to the Sejm of the PPR. In the meeting participated the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, Stanislaw Gebala, and the representative of OPZZ in the government-trade unions agency for affairs of collective contracts, Wacław Martyniuk. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jul 85 p 4] 12470

CSO: 2600/941

YUGOSLAVIA

## T-84 DESCRIBED AS SUPERIOR TO OTHER COUNTRIES' TANKS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 85 p 11

[Article by Slavoljub Pantelic: "A Robot on Crawler Tracks"]

[Text] Following the initial surprise caused at this year's military parade on Victory Over Fascism Day by the T-84 tank manufactured in Yugoslavia, which at the moment is the most up-to-date and at the same time the best tank in the world, questions spontaneously cropped up, both with the best intentions, and also with malicious intentions: What do we need it for? Is it really the best tank in the world, or is this only a journalistic canard? Does a small country have a chance of competing with the potential of the superpowers?

Exactly what kind of tank is this, and how and why was it developed? We sought answers in various informed quarters and we are presenting a partial biography of the weapon which has been spoken about quite a bit recently.

### Why a Domestic Tank

Before any data at all: the domestic tank is incomparably less expensive, and if it could be manufactured in large production runs (the market is virtually guaranteed), it would be our most competitive product on the world market and probably the largest item in the country's inflow of foreign exchange. But the ancillary industry cannot increase its capacity tenfold in such rapid fashion. Nevertheless, even with the capability that exists the exports can easily cover the cost of equipping our armed forces (if not exceed them). It remains to be seen whether that will actually be the case, whether our "84" will be exported and in what quantities. In any case the immense cost item for purchasing new tanks has been essentially reduced, and the foreign exchange envisaged for those purposes remains in the country.

According to our superb expert on military technology of all times and places, Col Stevan Korda, the preparatory work of choosing the best license for the domestic tank was done on the most up-to-date scientific basis.

### The Selection Strategy

The generally recognized procedure for calculating the coefficients which define a tank's combat performance was applied to 16 models of tanks which are

part of the armament of the advanced armed forces in the world and belong to the category of up-to-date military technology. Three of the principal parameters taken into account were these: firepower, armor protection and mobility. The appropriate mathematical formulas for each of the three essential preconditions were used to obtain the corresponding value, and the results were entered into the final formula, which yielded the final coefficient of the combat value of the tank being tested. Elements such as fineness of line, comfort of the crew and designer details are not evaluated in this procedure.

In examining world tank output in this way our scientists arrived at these results: first place was taken by the Soviet T-72 tank with a coefficient of 0.52142, second place by the American M-1 with a coefficient of 0.50906 (not at present included in armament). The third was the West German "Leopard-2," the fourth the French AMX-32, and they were followed by the Challenger, AMX-30, M-1 "Abrams," the "Leopard"-1 A-1, the T-62, and then the Japanese Model-74, the Swiss PZ-61, the Soviet T-55 (which has been in our armament up to now), the American "Chieftain" Mk-5, the M-60 A-1, the M-3 A-5, and the American "Centurion," which had the lowest coefficient of only 0.13388.

Governed by the decisions of computer equipment and worldwide criteria, for all practical purposes the decision was made by feeding cards into the computer. The Soviet T-72 was the winner in what amounted to a competition among combat tanks, and the license was purchased. In a relatively short time all our institutes and scientific institutions got down to work, and many new details saw the light of day from the drafting boards. The original was considerably improved in its most sensitive characteristic, firing speed, that is, the opening of fire, and experimental production began. The first T-84 produced by our own workers, scientists and technicians went out onto the factory proving ground and showed what it could do. It could do a great deal, since the team of specialists which was to compute the coefficients of its combat utility had to raise the absolute record of 0.52142 by several more hundredths or tenths, depending....

In any case the best tank in the present world came into being.

#### Large Operating Radius

The "84" is a medium line tank weighing 41 tons and has a crew of three. It is protected against armor-piercing and other weapons by what is popularly called "sandwich armor," which withstands armor-piercing projectiles (shells), including even certain missiles up to unthinkable limits. To illustrate, if a shell is to pass through its layered armor it must develop the kinetic energy required to pierce a steel plate more than half a meter thick. This applies both to shaped-charge and sub-caliber shells (special artillery shells for piercing armor, whose entire detonating force is concentrated on a single point). Infantry has so far not had weapons to penetrate the armor of the T-84 tank, nor indeed have all artillery rocket units.

The operating radius, or the longest distance traveled without taking on fuel, is more than half of Yugoslavia, and the combat speed is very fast. There is no point in even mentioning the road speed.

The special computer-based devices for automatic fire control work better at a higher speed, but not only in that case. These devices compute in a moment all the elements necessary for very precise aiming, taking into account all possible factors which could divert the shell from the one accurate trajectory which leads to the target--from weather conditions to the condition of guns and ammunition. The gunner's job is reduced to spotting the target in the sites and then pressing the right button.

All the rest, to the destruction of the target, is done electronically, even loading the cannon and machine gun. That is why the tank crew has been reduced from the conventional four-five members to only three. The "positions" for the loader and the machine gunner have been eliminated, and the speed from detecting the target to the opening of fire has been increased because of the perfected system of fire control, even over the original T-72 covered by the license, which has been proven to be the best tank in the world with respect to overall abilities in combat. As is obvious, even the gunner's job is no longer too difficult. Like a customer in some good restaurant, he chooses the ammunition from a menu, and if he is unable to do it, it is done by a robot without his help.

The all-powerful robotics have more duties to perform as warriors than determining the elements necessary for hitting the target and fire control. Delicate sensors alert the crew when the tank is in a radar, laser, infrared or any other observation beam, and it also knows when the track-laying robot is in someone's sights. Believe it or not, this applies to everything except a hunter's gun.

The indispensable sensors seal the tank airtight without previous warning to the crew even at the slightest sign of the presence of radioactive substances, and then the air filters bring purified fluid into the interior of the tank which can be used for breathing even without a gas mask. The same, of course, applies to poison gases as well. After all, the thick steel armor of the tank is sufficient against gamma rays, but antineutron armor is required to protect the crew from the sinister neutron radiation.

#### Antineutron Armor

The laser range finder gives precise data to the electronic assembly for automatic fire control, but it can determine distance infallibly for other purposes.

So that it can move and engage in combat at night the tank is equipped with reflective light which is not seen if one is looking in the direction of the tank, but the tank operators in the tank see everything as clear as their own hand. This kind of light cannot be counteracted in the way that conventional infrared devices can.

The 20 or so short tubes which confused observers during the parade are small launchers for smoke bombs and anti-infantry bombs, but when necessary the capability for laying down a smokescreen is still greater. A special device is installed in the engine for abundant production of smoke. Smoke that is valuable on the battlefield.

The tank's silhouette is very small. Tank operators say in jest that it is easier to hit the basketball player Cosic than the T-84 tank, since Cosic is taller. At the same time, this is so far the smallest tank silhouette in the world. In addition to everything else the tank is equipped with devices for removing mines (it clears its own way through a minefield), for pulling itself out (if it gets stuck or falls into a deep pit) and for digging itself in (in a very short time--one-tenth the time it once took the crews of conventional tanks).

#### What Kind of Tanks Do Others Have?

In crossing rivers and shallow lakes (there is no river in our country which the T-84 cannot cross), the tank goes through the water like a submarine, and a tank unit can remain concealed on a river bottom for a lengthy time and surface at the most inconvenient moment. The tanks take advantage of their amphibious characteristics in taking greater depths and cross the water obstacle on the surface, floating like ships.

The size of the total potential of tank units throughout the world can be only guessed at, but we do know, and this is what is of particular interest to us, that there are about 70,000 of them in Europe. But that total number does not signify paralysis of any country which has decided to defend itself and which possesses a sufficient number of tanks to cover the space being defended. After all, in all the wars since World War II, and there have been quite a few of them, it has been shown that in practice the inexhaustible potential of the superpowers has not been sufficient to paralyze the defender's combat activity. That is clear to military men, but perhaps it should still be said that in a particular area one cannot commit more tanks than envisaged by the optimum ratios in warfare. Otherwise the user gets in his own way because of the excessively dense formation, communications are blocked, he gets in the way of the other arms of the army, and he increases the enemy's opportunity to destroy him more easily and effectively.

The possible numerical superiority of the attacker, especially in the context of the concept of nationwide defensive warfare and the combined operation of present-day armored forces of the operational army need not be any irreparable handicap. On the contrary, it may even be an advantage under certain circumstances.

#### And the tanks?

The American M-1, which is second in the ranking by combat characteristics, is not yet in the armament of the U.S. Armed Forces, but we do know that it has a 120-mm cannon and similar devices and equipment. The differences are only in the sights.

In western Europe the NATO forces have in operational use the "Leopard-1" tank, the "Leopard-2" is now being introduced, and the "Leopard-3" is still being tested. Just a reminder: the "Leopard-2" is in third place.

The French are armed with the AMX tanks, and the Soviets with the T-55, T-64 and T-72, while the Italians have the M-60 A-1, an American tank in 14th place in the world quality ranking. That tank, which has a 105-mm cannon, two 12.7-mm machine guns and a crew of four, weighs 48 tons, and it is among the most modern Italian armored forces, while the same army also possesses M-48 tanks, which are not in the ranking of the tanks and are somewhere between 16th and lower than 20th place, however many types of tanks there are today in the armament of armed forces. Much is the same of the tanks with which the Greek, Turk and certain other armies are equipped as well.

7045

CSO: 2800/398



YUGOSLAVIA

ASPECTS OF DECLINING LIVING STANDARD EXPLORED

Persistence of Luxury Consumption

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1800, 30 Jun 85  
pp 24-25

[Article by Milica Lucic-Cavic: "Sweet Illusions"]

[Text] In the stylish Belgrade store "Fontana" sales of diamond jewelry have been increasing steadily since January. There is also a virtual scramble for Dutch tobacco, Austrian cigarettes and cigarillos, as well as imported liquors, which are offered in a greater assortment than in other Belgrade stores. Perfumes and cosmetics of the top ten world companies are also at the top of the list of goods in demand.

"Fontana's" manager, Slobodan Markovic, aside from knowing how to sell "fine" goods, also knows how to look at his customers with the eye of a sociologist. He says that expensive jewelry and quality timepieces of famous makes are mainly purchased by 50-year-olds, the well-off middle-aged generation. They buy them to wear, but also to leave to their children and grandchildren to remember them by and as keepsakes.

At one time it was uncommon for some private farmer to wander into this shop for luxury goods from time to time. Now, Markovic says, peasants are regular customers. They do not ask how much a piece of jewelry costs, the important thing is that it be impressive and striking. They usually purchase jewelry for an occasion, for weddings, engagements, and the like.

Luxury is a relative term. It depends on the standard of living and a society's level of development. The richer a society, the less noticeable is the borderline between luxury and those things which are not luxuries.

In a poor society, in Yugoslavia at this moment, even the cheapest automobile may be a luxury, the "Zastava 126," the popular "little iron," since its price of 530,000 dinars seems out of reach for the average Yugoslav, with a monthly personal income of 30,000 dinars.

Dr Mihajlo Popovic, professor at the School of Philosophy of Belgrade University, says that social inequities in Yugoslavia are increasing every day.

Dinar and foreign exchange savings, private entrepreneurs, private farmers and those returning from abroad have plenty of money. For them jewelry or the possession of expensive durable goods is no luxury, while for a sizable portion of the working class to fly from Belgrade to Split and back, which now costs 8,000 dinars, would be a real splurge. Ten years ago Professor Popovic and others wrote a study entitled "Drustveni slojevi i drustvena svest" [Social Strata and Social Consciousness]. The study was preceded by research which confirmed that the managerial stratum in Yugoslavia at that time was nurturing a life style based on status. People with key positions in politics, the economy and elsewhere were displaying that style by consuming foreign cigarettes and beverages, by vacationing at special places or abroad, by purchasing articles of clothing, again abroad, by living in large dwellings with more than average comfort, and so on.

### The First Wave

Over the last 10 years there have been some changes. Today the possession of expensive goods is not typical of that stratum of society alone. The Zagreb sociologist Slaven Letica refers to what is happening in our country today as anomie. The absence of rules and order is typical of periods when value systems are undergoing change. Certain norms are being abandoned, yet the new ones have not been created. This state of anomie is pathological by definition, but in Yugoslav society it is manifested in the fact that the new billionaires are coming from the ranks of private farmers, foreign exchange savings depositors, until recently those who had their savings in dinars as well, the owners of little cafes, those who make burek, and those who have garages for automobile repairs.

In these strata the life style based on status has recently become the rule. The possession of houses, weekend cottages, expensive automobiles, fur coats, fast motorboats, shopping in Rome or at least in Trieste, is reminiscent of what the American sociologist and economist Thorsten Veblen referred to as conspicuous consumption. Describing America's new rich back at the beginning of the century, he wrote that they bought those expensive articles less because of their value than out of snobbery. The demand for such articles drops as their prices fall, and conversely, the demand increases as the price rises because the possession of expensive articles is supposed to show how high the owners' position in society is. Even today, after so many years, Veblen is still relevant, and his assertions might even be applied to Yugoslavia's rural life.

The first wave of luxury roared through our rural areas some 10 years or so ago, when the better-off private farmers who wanted prestige became involved in a race to see who would have more expensive agricultural machines in his farmyard. Today alongside the automobiles parked in almost every farmyard of those who have worked abroad there are also "JAVA" or "Kawasaki" motorcycles for the young people, as well as two combines, although often even one is too many. In Holland, a rich country, five or six farmers pool their money and buy a combine together, since they know that the expensive machine will bring a return only if it is utilized to the maximum. In our country the desire to possess an expensive article, the desire for social prestige, often wins out

over optimality. Video recorders, hi-fi's, which are veritable luxury goods in our context, are being carried more and more frequently even into rural dwellings. The latest hit is an electronic TV camera. It is purchased in order to immortalize weddings, funerals, and the occasion of sending a son off to the service. A well-off peasant offered a well-known singer of new songs and his five-piece band 200,000 dinars for one night for a party he was giving for 400 guests on the occasion of his son going into the service.

Sinisa Korica, federal secretary for the market and general economic affairs, believes that a luxury is what the government classifies as a luxury in its tax policy. Nevertheless, he admits that many products which are not on that government list of luxuries are becoming a luxury because of the crisis we have found ourselves in, such as an automobile, for example.

### The List of Luxuries

Branko Dragas, a counselor in the Federal Secretariat for Finance, says that the government has designated playing cards at the top of the list of super-luxuries. The turnover tax on one deck is 750 percent. The government's intention was good, to prevent people from gambling. Thus domestic cards have almost no sales at all because of the high price, but smuggled and considerably less expensive cards are in abundant circulation all over the country. The turnover tax, he told us, would have to be reduced, since otherwise domestic manufacturers would have to padlock their doors. Cigarette paper is in second place with a tax of 623 percent. They are followed in order on the list of luxury articles by cigarette lighters, furs, skins of reptiles, timepieces, jewelry, cosmetics both domestic and imported, glass crystal, natural precious stones and pearls, hand-knotted carpets, coffee and imported whiskey. The federal tax on all those products ranges between 80 and 140 percent. To this we should add the republic and opstina taxes, which vary. It is interesting, and to this very day it has been left unexplained, why the government reduced the turnover tax in January on pocketbooks made from crocodile and snake, on fur coats and on whiskey. Thus whiskey, on which the tax last year was 337 percent, "fell" to the present 130 percent.

The automobile, the color television set, the video recorder, are not officially luxury articles, but they are on a separate list as products representing a higher standard of living. The federal tax paid on a color television set is 17.4 percent, and the republic tax 15 percent.

And while a quite small portion of the population easily obtains luxuries and articles representing the higher standard of living, 60 percent of employed Yugoslavs, with a personal income below the average, can only dream of them and live in fear that the washing machine or kitchen range will break down. Even those Yugoslavs who have a personal income above the average, but have no income on the side, will have a hard time setting aside 40,000 dinars for a new kitchen range or 70,000 for a washing machine or 260,000 dinars for a color television set.

Economist Petrasin Petrasinovic, director of the Market Research Institute in Belgrade, says: "I am anxious about the day when the appliances in my

household will break down, or when the car will reach the end of its life. I will not be able to buy a new car, nor some of the appliances either I am afraid." That little privacy which Yugoslavs no longer shy from was an illustration in a conversation about the ever larger gap between inflation, which is rushing upward, and the purchasing power of the population, which is plunging downward.

There are economists who say that we are going back to the standard of living in the sixties. The sweet illusions about the Yugoslav standard of living created in the time of prosperity during the seventies are already being seen as a major mistake based on millions of dollars borrowed abroad which we are now repaying so painfully. But back in the seventies the supermarkets were full of French cheeses, Swiss chocolate, bamboo imported from China, Australian fruit salad, and salmon from Sweden. Italian shoes and silk from Lyons were sold for dinars in the large cities.

#### Before and--Now

Now, as Bozidar Prgomelja, director of "Centromarket," says, all 280 supermarkets and stores in that chain do not sell in a month as much hard salami as just one large supermarket sold in one day in 1970. It is obvious that even quality salami has become a luxury commodity.

The datum that the sales of carpets, light fixtures, draperies, furniture, and even freezers, which were in such demand, has almost ceased is disturbing, but it doesn't have the drama of learning that at this moment quality food in Yugoslavia is a luxury. Meat is being purchased less and less, inventories have been building up for a year now. According to Prgomelja, a layer of salts can be noticed on a thin slice of prosciutta and the finer sausage products and cold cuts in the store, a dependable sign that they are rarely cut, that is, that the more expensive specialties are not selling well. Consumption of flour, alimentary pastes, rice, filo dough, less expensive and more filling food, is on the rise. The poorest of the dried and smoked meats are selling the best, since they are the least expensive.

This year early strawberries were purchased at the open-air market in quantities of 100 grams. New potatoes at 100 dinars, zucchini at 60 and tomatoes at 120 dinars are going unsold. For many people, especially pensioners and unskilled workers, and indeed even officeworkers, who still have not approached the poverty line of their dreams, an average personal income of 30,000 dinars, even these first summer fruits, which are no longer exorbitantly high, are an unattainable luxury, since housing, transportation, children's schooling, appliance repairs, all fixed expenses and ever larger household expenses do not allow anything more than the minimum in the diet.

And at the same time, as shown by "Centromarket's" computer, sales of expensive cigarettes manufactured under license, Kent, Dunhill and others, whose prices range at about 200 dinars, are on the rise. In a crisis does everyone seek his own opiate, or is that quite small stratum of billionaires--it is said that no one knows precisely how many of them there are in the country--exerting pressure on the market and creating a false and optimistic impression that our purchasing power is still where it once was?

Seeming Halt to Decline

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1801, 7 Jul 85  
pp 12-13

[Article by Dusan Sekulic]

[Text] When a man falls suddenly into troubled and fast water, his first wish is to feel the bottom under his feet, since then he will know how far down he has submerged, and he will attempt to bounce back so that he might swim to the surface. For a long time we have all been trying to feel that bottom as for years we have been sinking into ever greater poverty. But up until this point we have felt with our feet in vain, there was no firm support beneath them, and the slogans and promises which were shouted to us from the shore were not worth even as much as a straw to a drowning man. And finally, this past June has brought something--let us hope it is the bottom. The statistics have unambiguously shown that this was the first month since 1983 in which no further drop in real personal income was recorded. And if we look only at the period when prices were not administratively frozen, this kind of thing, which is a phenomenon in our context, has not been recorded for many, many years.

This past June, which we sincerely wish to be truly remembered, the cost of living did not rise even by 1 percent, and the nominal growth of personal earnings covered the movement of prices of industrial products, while food prices dropped 3.5 percent!

What Is on the Other Side of the Hill?

Nevertheless, in addition to agriculture and the weather, which brought an excellent harvest, the drop in purchasing power certainly also made its contribution to that equilibrium between salaries and prices, which has been so longed for, even though it be temporary. Inventories of finished products are up 15 percent over last year, when they were already quite substantial, and the drop in retail sales has now reached 10 percent. Like it or not, in setting new prices manufacturers now have to give full consideration to the sales possibilities or lack of them, since customers can no longer pay for everything. According to a survey conducted by the Market Research Institute, 65 percent of manufacturers have faced restricted opportunities for marketing their goods. The time of a considerably larger supply than the demand has been with us quite a while now, having surpassed coffee and furniture, which were the first swallows: in Belgrade there has been a drop in the sales of all foodstuffs except bread and milk; sales of some have even dropped more than 50 percent over last year.

Proud because of the fulfillment of his forecast made several months ago that we will finally reach bottom, director of the Market Research Institute Petrasin Petrasinovic notes however:

"Unfortunately, the growth of the supply in excess of demand and the halt in the drop of real personal income do not mean that the battle against high inflation has been won. Inflation in our country never was exclusively an

inflation caused by high demand. It is cost inflation, systemic inflation, and so on, and those factors are still operative. That is why even this important result stands under a question mark.

#### Average Earnings as of 1 April 1985

SFRY as a whole	30,541
Economy	30,157
Noneconomic sector	32,541

#### Average Earnings by Republics and Provinces as of 1 April 1985

Slovenia	39,055 (+28%)
Croatia	33,044 (+ 8%)
Serbia proper	28,383 (- 7%)
Vojvodina	30,684 (- )
Kosovo	23,212 (-24%)
Bosnia-Hercegovina	28,414 (- 7%)
Montenegro	25,154 (-18%)
Macedonia	23,021 (-25%)

The thought of what could happen toward the end of the year to manufacturers of durable consumer goods and indeed even others, such as meat processors, who simply could be smothered by the accumulation of inventories and interest, makes one shudder. Won't the system, which is reluctant to change anything on its own, prefer to seek a way out in "redistribution," so that something will be taken away from those who have to feed those who have not, and who are beginning to prepare for "social tensions"? Even though that would be a further "equalization in poverty, leveling, perpetuation of the agony and preservation of weakness," that possibility should be taken into account.

#### Is the Slovene 70 Percent More Industrious?

The persistence of the defenders of the entire status quo will be understood more easily with the help of essential facts concerning individual economic positions. At the end of the first quarter of this year the average personal income throughout the country was 30,541 dinars. In the economy it was 30,157, in the noneconomic sector 32,541 dinars. However, at the same time the average in Slovenia was 39,055 dinars, or 28 percent more than the average, Croatia also had a level 8 percent higher than the average, Vojvodina stood even--and the rest were below. It was worst in Macedonia: the average person employed in that republic received only 23,021 dinars, only 25 percent less than the Yugoslav average. The personal income in Slovenia was all of 70 percent higher than in Macedonia! The big question is whether there are authentic justifications for differences of this kind, is all of this covered by authentic productivity and economic efficiency of production, or is it the result of advantages which have been acquired and are being stubbornly defended?

The list of the 10 best-paying and 10 poorest branches and activities prepared by the Market Research Institute can easily prove that differences do not occur solely thanks to negligence and business acumen. First place in earnings

is taken by those employed in exporting and importing, with an average of 47,104 dinars, which raise them to 54 percent above the Yugoslav average. They are followed by trade associations and organizations for pipeline transport, with an income of 44,900 dinars, or 47 percent above the average, and then air transportation, maritime transport, shipbuilders, science, designers, the petroleum industry and higher education; at the bottom of the list of the best-paying branches, with an income of about 42,000 dinars, or 37 percent higher than the average.

#### Ten Highest Branches With Respect to the Level of Earnings

Exporting and importing	47,104 (+54%)
Trade associations	44,921 (+47%)
Pipeline transportation	44,814 (+47%)
Air transportation	44,517 (+46%)
Maritime transportation	44,265 (+45%)
Shipbuilding	44,154 (+45%)
Science	43,499 (+42%)
Designers	42,797 (+40%)
Petroleum industry	42,017 (+38%)
Higher education	41,757 (+37%)

#### Ten Lowest-Paying Branches

High-rise building construction	21,546 (-29%)
Personal services in the crafts and trades	21,660 (-29%)
Stone and sand quarrying	23,661 (-23%)
Production of building materials	24,766 (-23%)
River transportation	24,886 (-19%)
Textile products	25,409 (-17%)
Retail trade	25,919 (-15%)
Furniture	26,133 (-14%)
Yarn and fabrics	26,182 (-14%)
Hostelry	26,150 (-14%)

#### Greatest Differences

Slovenia:Macedonia =	1.7:1
Exporting and importing:High-rise building construction =	2.18:1
Highest rise of nominal personal incomes for the work communities of banks =	+75%

The list of the 10 worst-paying branches is headed by high-rise building construction, whose 300,000 workers have average earnings of 21,546 dinars a month, which is 29 percent below the country's averages. Then there are personal services in the crafts and trades, stone and sand quarrying, production of building materials, river transportation, production of finished textile products, retail trade, furniture manufacturers, the yarn and fabric industry, along with hostellers, which average 26,150 dinars, 14 percent below the average.

Just to see who is leading these two lists provides sufficient evidence of the injustice which prevails in such an essential area as remuneration for work. In the advanced world workers in high-rise construction are always considerably better paid on the average than those in exporting and importing.

All kinds of efforts, from the raising of prices to the use of political influence, to retain advantages or to alter their unfavorable and unfair position are a natural phenomenon. What is unnatural is that there are no frank discussions and analyses, that the defense of a trivial material interest and a good position that for all practical purposes has been stolen are all but equated with the national interest and the essence of the social system. That is why we should not doubt at all that those whom inflation favors will continue to ride it, showing no concern about who will in the end have to pay the bill, or how, since it will have to be paid.

It is a notorious truth, and here the statistics easily prove it, that the burden of misfortunes is not being borne by all equally. Which increases all the more the attractiveness of the proposal to establish the lowest personal income for normal work in the simplest job in every branch and activity as the basis for evaluating all the more complicated jobs, on the basis of a system 1:2, 1:3, 1:10.... But as soon as thought is given to such a system, voices are heard to the effect: "But, please, only by republics and provinces!"

So the big question is whether that muddy bottom which we have finally felt under our feet will not be moved away from us by a minority which wants to preserve its positions. The 10 poorest-paid branches have a labor force that is between seven- and eightfold larger than that of the 10 richest, but the number of principals is obviously not decisive either to economic or to political influence.

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YUGOSLAVIA

## PROBLEMS OF SERBS LIVING IN CROATIA DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 85 pp 15-16

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "Opposition to Nonsensical Divisions"]

[Text] After a break of several years in which there were no significant debates on interethnic relations, especially none concerning the specific features of the position of the Serbs in Croatia, that topic has been touched upon in recent months, and particular attention has been paid to the actions and measures in studying and establishing the history and culture of Serbs in this republic. Discussions have been conducted in the Section for Culture and in the Presidium of the Croatian Republic SAWP Conference, and these issues have also been on the agenda of party bodies.

There were no cases of excess to furnish the occasion for the discussions, as is often the case in our country, but rather this has been part of regular activity, which has been accentuated by the knowledge of the importance of relations between the Croat and Serb nationalities. Moreover, the importance which these relations have in everyday life has made this a relevant topic. Or, as Jovo Ugrcic has said, this is not a taboo topic at all, nor has it been raised for political reasons, and least of all has it been put on the agenda because of the pressure of Serbian nationalists, who are saying that the Serbs in Croatia are discriminated against.

Of course, this does not mean that there are no problems, as Milan Kocis, member of the Presidium of the Croatian Republic SAWP Conference, declared to DANAS, and the main one is that the Serbs live as a rule in the less developed or underdeveloped parts of the republic such as Lika or Bukovica. One of the problems that has arisen is the insufficient study of the history and culture of the Serbs in Croatia, where there has been an obvious deficiency on the part of researchers and research. If we want to be honest, we would have to say: first, that our field of history is also deficient in other areas, and second, that the history of the Croats and Serbs is so intertwined and shared in common that it is almost impossible to study the history of only one or the other nationality. There are also problems with the spoken and written languages, since certain cases of insistence on the "purity" of the language and on Croatization at any price are a hindrance not only to the Serbs, but also to an immense number of Croats. As for learning Cyrillic as the first script, it is guaranteed in all the areas where the population has so chosen, but many

parents decide to have their children learn the Roman alphabet first and to learn Cyrillic only in the third grade. Kocis feels that it is a greater problem that the Croats do not study Cyrillic enough, that due attention is not paid to it in certain schools, that this script is underestimated although a large portion of Yugoslavia uses it.

And finally, one of the problems (this does not, of course, exhaust the list) is the unresolved status of the publishing house Prosvjeta, which was founded by the Serbian Cultural Society of the same name, which was abolished in 1980. Prosvjeta is troubled by many financial and personnel problems. To be sure, there are no losses, but it has been living from hand to mouth and doing all kinds of work, but with the help of the broader community it ought to be helping to study the history and culture of the Serbs instead of publishing books on computers. There are also many unresolved issues concerning the property of the former Prosvjeta.

A specific plan of measures and actions has been adopted in this regard, but the decision has been postponed on whether to establish a special committee in the Yugoslav Academy for Nurturing the History and Culture of the Serbs in Croatia. There are reasons of two kinds: legal and formal on the one hand and matters of principle on the other. One can learn a bit more about them from what was said in the meeting of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the Croatian SAWP.

#### More Harm Than Good

The discussion was opened by Marin Franicevic, a writer and member of the academy, when he said that Prosvjeta ought not to be abolished, but reorganized, that we have both the strength and the personnel to do this. Nor should Matica Hrvatska have been abolished--there are other writers who are members of the party who also agree with this--since we had enough strength and people who could have taken it over completely. It is a society that is 100 years old, and it had had some fine moments in its past. When it went through a bad time, we abolished it for that reason, but we could have taken over Matica and returned it to those times when it did in fact receive medals for service to the people, when Comrade Tito was an honorary member, and Vladimir Bakaric was a regular member. It seems to me, Franicevic said, that at this point we would welcome a cultural society of Serbs rather than a political society, but then we should also reestablish Matica. But still these are big issues and perhaps they should not be touched today.

Expressing his opinion about establishing the committee, Franicevic said that this would signify pushing Serbian culture onto a reserve, but that culture should not be divided up. Would it do more harm than good for us to publish and print separately the works, say, of Desnica, Jelic, Vlado Popovic and other Serbian writers, or would it be better to print them together with the Croatian writers?

Milica Posavec was also against establishing the committee. After all, she said, why do we need new committees when we already have bodies which monitor the achievement of equality? Creation of such committees would be a concession to the Serbian nationalists.

There are no reasons to be taken in by the stories to the effect that the Serbs in Croatia are discriminated against and that separate Serbian institutions should be established for that reason. All the basic issues in the social life of the Serbs, as well as the other nationalities in Croatia, can be settled in this republic's self-management and material development. This is the only right way, and for that reason we dare not allow the nationalists to spoil what we have done. Certain republic institutions need to be set in motion through a social action and helped to bring more content into their programs so as to satisfy the specific needs of the Serbian nationality in Croatia, since the Serbs must preserve their culture and know their history, said Jovo Ugrcic, who came out against establishing separate Serbian institutions.

These attitudes within the presidium confirmed once again the previous policy decision against establishing separate ethnic associations and societies and the position that today any political and cultural separation of the Serbs in Croatia is not only nonsensical, but would also be profoundly harmful both for the Serbs and for the Croats and for all of us in Yugoslavia. A few years ago Dr Stipe Suvar said that that kind of logic would lead us to creating such societies of Croats in Vojvodina, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and indeed even Kosovo, since the statistics say that there are 7,000 of them there. Or, by that same logic, at least three academies would have to be established in Bosnia-Hercegovina. What is it that divides us so that now we are creating separate cultural institutions or possibly are reviving them, if in fact they were ever necessary at any point in history?

Suvar's thought here was that back during the National Liberation Struggle the Serbian nationality established its own institutions in Croatia. Thus in 1943 it established the Serbian Club of Members of the Regional Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia and then the next year the Serbian Choral Society "Obilic" and the Serbian Cultural Society "Prosvjeta." Immediately after the war the First Congress of Serbs in Croatia was held in liberated Zagreb, and in 1948 the Museum of Serbs in Croatia and Central Serbian Library were also established.

The newspaper SRPSKA RIJEC, which is printed in Cyrillic, has been coming out since September 1943. As we said, "Prosvjeta" ceased to exist in 1980, and the grounds for abolishing it were similar to those which led to dissolving Matica Hrvatska, since both institutions were mainly political rather than cultural, and were in fact headquarters for nationalism.

#### A Task Which Cannot Be Put Off

Yet not everyone thinks that abolishing separate Serbian institutions was correct, since supposedly this put the Serbian nationality in Croatia in an unequal position and deprives it of its rights as a nationality. Some people even ask: How in the future can the Serbian nationality preserve itself as such in Croatia in the future if it has no separate national institutions which would unify it? Although all the analyses indicate that there is no reason whatsoever to speak about discrimination against the Serbs in Croatia and that their equality was not jeopardized by abolishing "Prosvjeta" and similar institutions, the Serbian nationalists are obstinately concerned about the identity of the Serbian nationality.

In responding to them Dr Suvar has written "that we have to be concerned for the Serbs in Croatia to be politically equal, which I think they are, and for us not to divide up the Serbs and Croats and members of all the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in public and sociopolitical and economic life with respect to nationality, but rather with respect to professional abilities, performance and other characteristics and human attributes. I am not concerned whether an engineer or physician is a Croat or Serb, but how capable he is. But in political bodies, in delegate assemblies, in the leadership bodies of sociopolitical organizations, we have to take the ethnic makeup into account. And I think we do. We have not been completely satisfied with all the elements, there is still quite a bit of spontaneity and inertia here, especially in certain communes, and there is also factionalism and stupidity, sometimes to the detriment of the Croats and sometimes to the detriment of the Serbs, but it is the business of the concrete policy of the organized socialist forces to correct both the remnants of the past and also today's mistakes and oversights.

"The thing to fight for is for the Serbs in Croatia not to be silenced as a nationality, nor their common history with the Croats, for them not to be called all but 'newcomers,' in the textbooks, which there are still traces of. We have a common history, we have a common language, we have a common culture, for all the specific features there are."

Dr Suvar, who has often spoken about relations between Serbs and Croats, did not even avoid the question of the founding assembly of the "Topusko" club of cultural workers some 2 weeks ago, saying that "the congress in Topusko also expressed the cultural affirmation of the Serbian nationality in Croatia, which even during the National Liberation Struggle created its separate cultural institutions, and the specific features of its culture have been nurtured within them, in a close intertwining and community with the culture of the Croatian nationality. Under the altered condition such specific institutions of the Serbian nationality have died out in the recent past, to some extent because of our neglect, but also because of the pressures of the remaining forces of Croat nationalism weakened the concern for what was specific in the culture and history of the Serbian nationality in Croatia. We face the task of renewing that concern, a task which cannot be put off."

In his statement Dr Stipe Suvar was not decided about whether separate institutions and committees should be established or not. Judging by the views of the Presidium of the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, it was felt that this was not necessary, but that more attention should be paid to the questions of the history and culture of the Serbs in Croatia and in particular there should be opposition to attempts to count them off, assimilate them or separate them. Thus some use data from the last population census as an argument concerning the threat to the Serbs in Croatia, since the figures show that there are fewer Serbs than 10 years ago. The nationalistic interpretations do not say that there was a drop in the number of both Croats and Serbs, since the number of Yugoslavs increased tenfold. But when interethnic relations in Croatia are being discussed, that is another datum that should be taken into account.

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